THE CONGRESS
AND THE
NATIONAL MOUEMENT

1928

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Congress And The National Movement

(from a Bengali Standpoint)

Written under the direction of Reception Committee of 43rd Session of The Indian National Congress, 1928.

POONA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

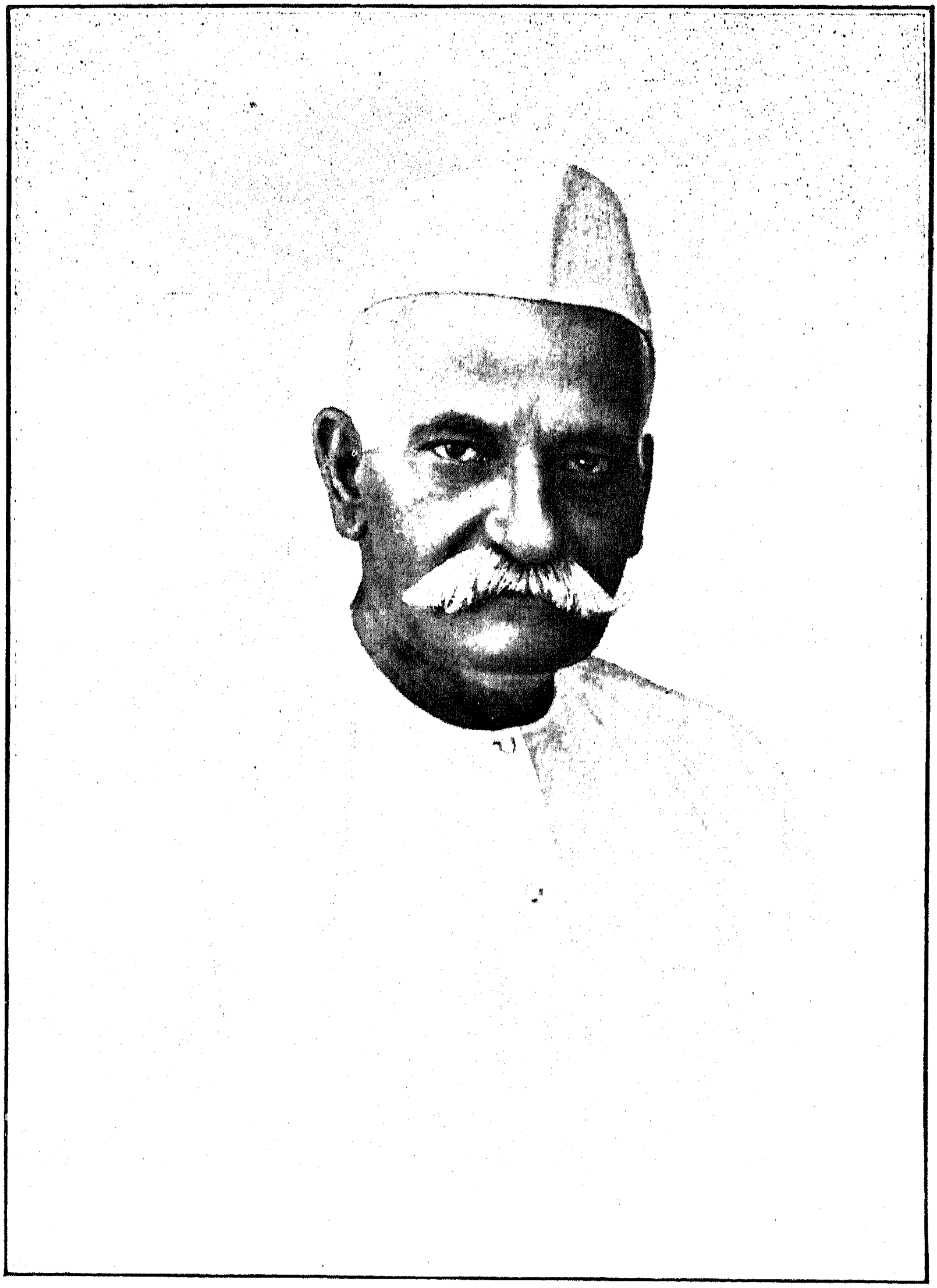
RUPEE ONE

FOREWORD

On the eve of the 43rd session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta I am asked to write a foreword to this book "The Congress and the National Movement." I gladly do so. The writer had the difficult task of presenting the history of the Congress from a Bengalee's standpoint without unduly putting forward his own personal or any particular point of view. In this he has succeeded admirably well, at the same time keeping alive the interest of the reader from page to page. But however dispassionately one narrates the important events and changes in the Indian national movement, the present generation cannot but regard the history as the history of disillusionment of a nation as to the intentions of another. India of to-day cannot but wonder at the older Congress leaders' implicit faith in England and their blindness to the true significance of her rule. Tilak and Aurobindo for the first time, opened our eyes and laid bare its true and sinister meaning. The Swadeshi agitation in Bengal following her partition was the first sign of the realisation of the true inwardness of British policy in India. The complete disillusionment, however, as expressed in the resolutions of the Congress did not come till 1920. To-day British statesmen cry hoarse and ask us that it is through co-operation and good will that India's national ideals can be achieved. The past history of England's treatment of India and her relations with other countries belies such professions and it is too late in the day to practise the same deception that was so successful in the past. India has realised that England respects only force and pressure, and submission and weakness only emboldens her to pursue more vigorously her policy of exploitation. I rejoice to see that this lesson has come to India, for, through its realisation will she wrest political power from her foreign agressors.

10/4, Elgin Road,
Calcutta,
15th December, 1928.

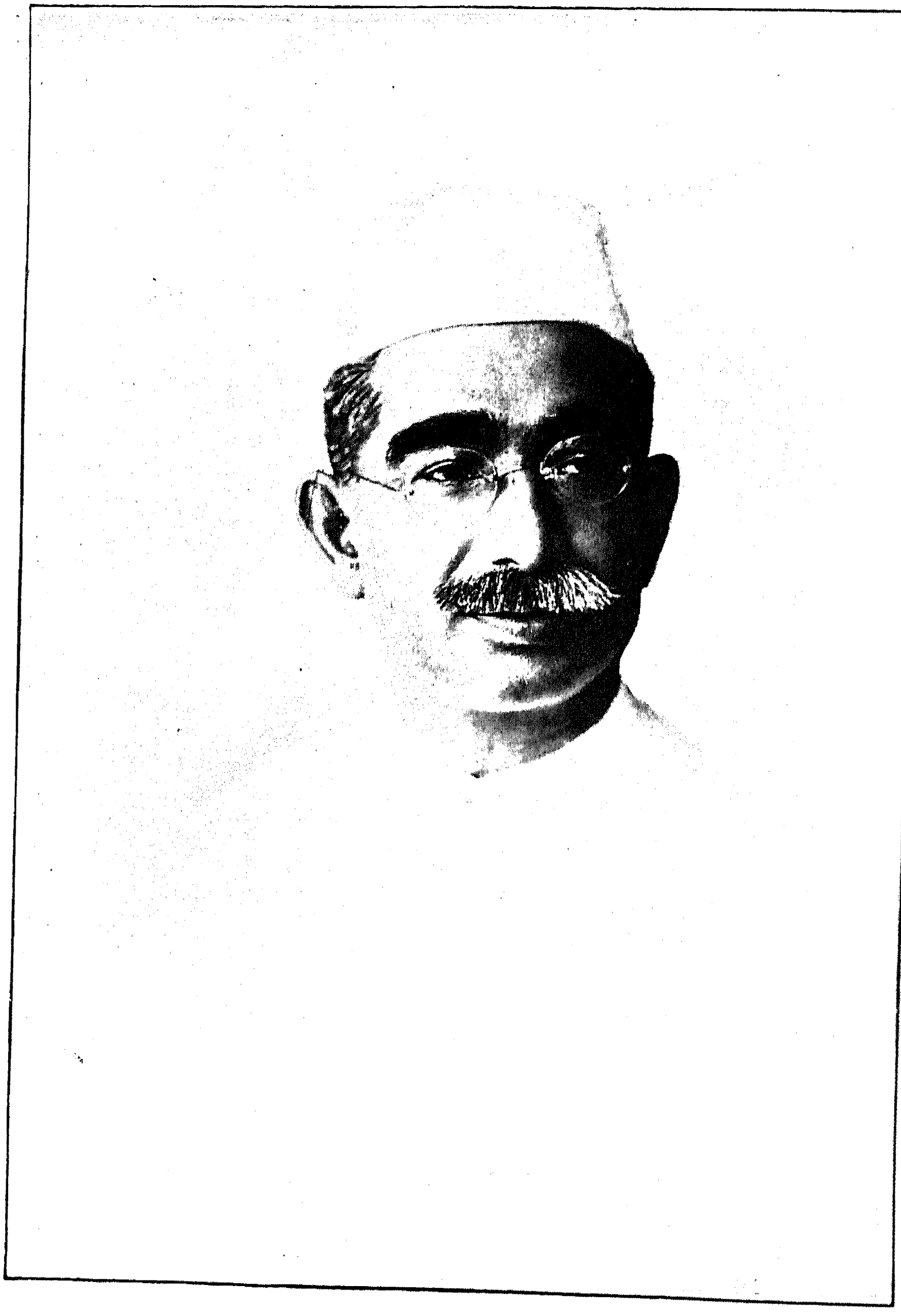
J. M. SEN-GUPTA



PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

PRESIDENT, INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

CALCUTTA SESSION—1928.



DR. M. A. ANSARI

Retiring President.

The Congress and The National Movement.

CHAPTER I.

—:o:—

Before 1885.

The history of the Congress is the history of the national movement in India. Well might she say, "Parties come and parties go, but I go on for ever." Like the mighty Ganges she has brought from the abode of the Gods an inexhaustible stream of nectar into the arid and inert souls of the peoples of this ancient land. At the outset, therefore, let us make our humble obeisance to the great ones, who like the saintly Bhagirath of old, have conducted this stream of nectar to quicken into life the dead ashes of their forefathers.

Early Times.

But a national movement cannot be initiated by a leader, however great, however inspired. In fact, a national leader does not appear till the nation ardently desires him, nay, deserves him. The sower may sow, but if the soil be rocky, no fruit will come. In 1885, conditions were all favourable to the sowers and the seed sown has already sprouted and bids fair to grow in God's own time into a mighty tree, the admiration of the world. Nationalism is a comparatively new idea. Democracy is a still newer idea. Yet, in this old land of ours, both were, familiar in one form or other, in days gone by prior to the Mahomedan era. To the Hindu mind of yore, the land of the seven holy rivers, the land of the holy temples from Kedarnath in the snows, to Rameswaram washed by the waves of the ocean, was but one. The authority of Demos was early recognised, and nurtured in the village councils. Internecine strifes affected neither the unifying influence of the holy rivers and the sacred temples, nor the peaceful self-government of the village councils.

Moslem Rule.

Then came the Crescent, with its message of the equality of man. Democratic ideas received an impetus, the result of which is visible in the teachings of Nanak and Kabir, of Chaitanya and Tookaram. That was also the age of the great

monarchies all over the world. Feudalism was crumbling down and the grand monarchs were enlisting the support of the people and strengthening their thrones against the feudatories. India was not without her princely exponents of national monarchy. It was during this period that Akbar the Great at Delhi, Ibrahim called the Jagatguru at Bijapur, Hossain Shah in Bengal, each in his own way sought to draw near to his people and strengthen the authority of the throne. But the decay of the central power prevented the natural development of this institution and, like Germany and Italy, India has had to wait till the 19th Century for further progress, for a further development of the national idea. As Delhi became weak, the old idea of Hindu national unity strengthened and manifested itself in the Punjab and Maharastra. The great Sivaji considered himself the champion of all Hindus, so did the Maharana Rajsinha of Mewar when he wrote his famous letter to Emperor Aurangzeb. The decay of the central authority at Delhi was thus co-existent with the revival of the Hindu national idea. But the confusion brought on by the scramble for power, during the 18th Century, prevented any further development of unity even amongst the Hindus.

John Company.

During this century, a company of merchants had, as the poet puts it, quietly in the darkness of night transformed their pair of scales into a sceptre. In the words of the great Ranjit Singh, bit by bit all India became red. The sceptre, however, was wielded by the Company for dividend and dividend only. India was bled mercilessly. But India was at last one. As Napolean's conquests brought about, indirectly it may be, national unity in Italy and Germany, so is nationalism the gift of John Company to India. Nascent nationalism found its first expression in 1857. For, however much it be a sepoy mutiny, it was, without doubt, a combined effort by the Hindus and the Musalmans to wrench the sceptre from the hands of honest John and to present it to the King of Delhi as Emperor of India. It is significant, that amongst the Hindu promoters of this movement was the descendant of the Peshwas of Poona, old and inveterate enemies of Delhi. Another fact which may be noted is that the date originally fixed for the commencement of hostilities was the date of the Battle of Plassey,—23rd of June. This was no matter of accident. Why should the Peshwa or the Maulvi of Lucknow have selected such a date, if they had not intended the uprising to be one of the nation ? The nation as a whole, however, did not respond and the mystic year

of '57 passed by. The blood of thousands, white and brown, was shed. It had however the effect of rousing the people of England. The Company was dethroned and the reins of Government were assumed by the Sovereign of England. The gracious proclamation was issued. Some have called it our *Magna Charta*, others a scrap of paper. Whether it be the one or the other, the fathers of the Congress took their stand on it. They made it perfectly clear that they were asking for boons on the basis of this Charter.

Before the genesis of the Congress is discussed, however, it is necessary to go back a little. The Mutiny of '57 was, as is generally believed, a national uprising, partial though it might have been and illconceived, according to some, though its methods were. The connection of this movement with the English-educated Indians of the time was but little. Malleson, in his history, refers to the hopes of the Bengalee Babus in 1857, and Lord Roberts in his book mentions that correspondence was being carried on between Calcutta and French Chandernagore. But in the absence of cogent evidence it may be concluded that the leaders of educated Indian thought were not really associated with the rising of '57. No connection can be traced between that movement and the events that led to the birth of the Congress. The Mutiny did leave its trail of a secret propaganda and violent methods, but the genuine loyalty of the early leaders of the Congress and their abhorrence of violence, make it abundantly clear that the two movements were entirely independent. The activities of the Wahabis and the subsequent growth of secret societies in India may possibly be called a legacy of '57, but not the Congress. It was quite a different set of forces that brought the Congress into existence.

English Education.

When the East India Company was administering in India, the Government in England expressed their anxiety over and over again that India should be well governed, and that the Natives should be given English education. To some extent, their motives were altruistic, but they were partly based on the jealousy that the British public felt towards the growing wealth of the Company and its employees. The watchfulness of Parliament did not successfully check the Company's career of oppression and expansion, but it brought English education into the country. The great Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar of Poona used to call English education the milk of the tigress. He used to say that this milk would bring a new

strength, a new energy to this old and effete race. There were among the British advocates of English education in this country, many, who knew that future generations of Indian youths would assimilate "our doctrines of political liberty, popular rights and national independence," that the English schools "would promote one of the leading purposes of the British rule which was to prepare the people for Self-Government." It was certainly not supposed that "at any subsequent time a policy would be adopted which would disappoint the legitimate hopes thus created."

The suppression of the Mutiny and the supersession of the East India Company, according to many, ushered in an era of peaceful progress. The leaven of English ideas began working apace. It led the new Indian "to question the truth of his inherited beliefs," in things social as well as political. The misadventure of 1857, and possibly a natural apathy kept his mind free from any desire to indulge in violence. But he dreamt of a day yet far off, when a free Indian nation would be formed. He imbibed avidly the yet unfamiliar idea of individual freedom. The result was that the Brahmo Samaj and similar sects arose all over India. They, at first, excited opposition in the ranks of orthodox Hinduism and, for a time, it looked as if social and religious reform would further disunite an already much-divided people. But, in time, and with the growth of education, the principles advocated by these reformed Samajes began to permeate Hindu society itself.

The Early Reformers.

Already, in the days of the Company, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had sounded the first note of reform and freedom of conscience. Versatile as the Raja was, his advocacy of free thought naturally extended into the region of politics. His evidence before Parliament clearly showed this. During the two decades immediately prior to the birth of the Congress, the Brahmo Samaj was under the inspiring leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen. Side by side with the message of complete personal freedom, the Brahmo Samaj during this period never failed to sound indirectly a note of national self-respect and self-assertion. This would be abundantly clear from the following passage taken out of Keshab Chandra's writings:

"Does brotherly love subsist between the conquering and the conquered races? Do the former recognise Jesus as their guide and master in their dealings with the latter and exercise on them the influence of true Christian life? Alas, instead of mutual good feeling and brotherly intercourse we find the

bitterest rancour and hatred and ceaseless exchange of reviling vituperation and slander. * * * * *
* * * * * * * *

Among the European communities in India, there is a class who not only hate the natives with their heart, but seem to take a pleasure in doing so. The existence of such a class of men could not possibly be disputed. They regard the natives as one of the vilest nations on earth, hopelessly immersed in all the vices which can degrade humanity and bring it to the level of brutes. *
* * * * * * *

Native ideas and tastes, native customs and manners, seem to them odious and contemptible; while native character is considered to represent the lowest type of lying and wickedness. In their eyes, the native is a man who is inherently a liar, and the nation, a nation of liars. * * * * *
In all departments of life, intellectual, domestic, social and religious, they are a race of liars. They liken a native to a fox, wily, fraudulent and mean, full of sinister motives, deceit and cunning.
* * * * * * *
To the native, the European is born and bred a wolf, and is destined to live and die a wolf. Meekness, forbearance, and mercy are unknown to him. The least provocation ruffles his temper, kindles his wrath, and makes him rush blindly to vengeance. Once out of temper, he rants and raves, and inflicts the most cruel and barbarous tortures on his enemy to gratify his ire, and is even sometimes so far carried away by his passions as to commit the most atrocious murder. Insult he cannot bear, he cannot forgive his enemies. Hot-headed and ferocious, he takes delight in exercising violence, and often he does so without any plea or reason whatsoever His combative propensity is strong, and few can reckon their lives safe if they have once excited his wrath. As a wolf, therefore, he is to be dreaded and shunned. Indeed, many a native is so afraid of a European, that he would never, if he could avoid it, travel in the same railway carriage with him. And this fear, be it said, is not the fear due to a superior nature, but that which brutal ferocity awakens. Thus while the European hates the native as a cunning fox, the latter fears the former as a ferocious wolf."

This passage is quoted *in extenso* as it has sometimes been blindly urged that nationalism is the outcome of the Neo-Hindu movement alone. In the very nature of things, when ancient authority is challenged, and an appeal made to reason, as was undoubtedly done by the reforming sects, that appeal can never be one-sided. It is unnecessary to refer here to the influence

on Keshab Chandra of the saint Ramkrishna, or to say, how far the great reformer's outlook was nationalised by contact with that saint. Keshab's success in England was phenomenal. It was, without doubt, a challenge against the pretensions of racial superiority by the new rulers of the country. The reflex action of this on his countrymen was considerable. Keshab never failed to condemn, though his language was guarded, the moral lapses of the administration.

Along with the contribution of the Brahmo Samaj, must be mentioned the powerful impetus to free thought given by the great Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar who made the cause of the Hindu widows his own and never rested till he got Government to legalise their re-marriage. It is obvious that no movement insisting on the rights of a nation could be complete, or even reasonable, while women's rights remained neglected. Keshab and Vidyasagar were not only social reformers but were powerful advocates of English education as well. Along with these movements must be considered the temperance movement led by Pyari Charan Sarkar. Our ambition in the first period to imitate Englishmen had led to an alarming increase of the drinking habit and the time had come for somebody to cry halt and sound a warning note that Whiskey and Port were not after all going to bring us parliamentary institutions. The temperance movement gathered strength as it went on. Meetings were held and speeches made all over Bengal. Keshab and Vidyasagar actively co-operated in this agitation. Young Surendra Nath Banerjea joined it, and so did his friend and colleague Ananda Mohan Bose. The agitation made an abiding impression on the younger generation.

Hindu Revival.

These reforming movements were important in more senses than one. We were learning the methods of popular agitations. The Press and the Platform were both being freely enlisted in our service. The leaven of English education was working and creating an intelligensia in the country, which was destined very soon to take up the question of India's political future. As in Europe in the 16th century, so in India in the late 19th, the reform movement was followed quickly by a movement of counter-reformation. One of the characteristics of a counter-reformation is that by a process of internal reform, it seeks to cut the ground away from under the feet of the reformers. The bitter controversies that raged between the supporters of the two movements were of passing interest. The joint legacy left by both was a spirit of progress

and reform. A recent American writer, speaking of India, observes that there are two classes of people in India who with equal earnestness desire the deliverance of Asia from the shackles of Europe but who are diametrically opposed to each other in their methods. One class, he says, wants to make itself as Europeanised as possible for this purpose, so that it may beat the European with his own weapons; while the other wants to manufacture weapons entirely of an Asiatic kind from Asiatic materials and therefore entrenches itself behind a stone wall of fanatical isolation. There is a great deal of truth in this and the National Congress has been fostered by the earnest champions of both orthodoxy and reform. If the spirit of reform has sometimes led to wild license, the spirit of conservation has equally brought in its train puerile prejudice. The Hindu revivalist, when he opposed Vidyas gar or Keshab, took his stand on a species of dogged, blind and fanatical patriotism. He said as it were, "I love my country, I love her glorious past. I shall have nothing to do with any imitation of the masterful barbarian." Unreasonable this attitude might be, but it contributed powerfully to the growth of the national movement.

The influence therefore of the Paramahansa Ramkrishna and Madame Blavatsky in creating a suitable atmosphere for the Congress to come into being was very great. Reference will be made later to the influence of Swami Vivekananda, the great disciple of the Paramhansa, but, even in these early days, the saint of Dakshineswar made his personality felt all over Bengal. Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott came to India about 1878 and told the Hindu that he had no reason to be ashamed of his own past and to rush for wisdom and inspiration to the material West. This message gave a new strength and impetus to the growing race consciousness of the Hindu. At that time, the authorities in India were full of the bogey of a Russian invasion, and looked with suspicion upon this Russian lady who had arrived in India with her message of hope. Mr. Hume, the founder of the Congress was himself an earnest Theosophist, and "many of those who went to Bombay during Christmas 1885 from the other provinces were intimately and prominently associated with the Theosophical Society." The Hindu revival thus played a very important part in developing national conciousness.

The Press and National Movement.

To come back to the impetus given by English education to the national movement, it is necessary to refer to the literature of the time, the journalistic press, and the stage, specially in

Bengal. Here reference may be made to two passing events which through the press made their contribution to the growth of racial feelings. It has been already pointed out that the Wahabi movement was a legacy of the spirit of violence of an earlier period and that it had nothing to do with the national movement that resulted in the birth of the Congress. But the arrest of the Wahabi leader Amir Khan under Regulation III of 1818, his detention in prison without trial, and the pleading of his cause by Mr. Anstey greatly affected Young India. Mr. Anstey's address, reprinted as a pamphlet, occupied a prominent place on the book-shelf of every youth of the time. The subsequent assassinations by the Wahabis of the Chief Justice and the Viceroy sent a thrill through the young minds of India, a thrill of hope or horror it is impossible to say at this distance of time. The Young Indian, however, of the seventies and eighties was too close an imitator of the smug and respectable English gentleman of the Victorian period to be attracted seriously towards political crime.

The other movement was connected with Indigo plantation in some of the districts of Bengal. The planters were all Europeans of the John Company type and the native cultivators habitually received very high-handed treatment from them. Matters came to a head, and there were several riots on the plantations. A Bengali drama, *Nildarpan,* written by Dinabandhu Mitra, drew the attention of the educated classes to the grievances of their illiterate countrymen on the indigo plantations. The play which was widely read by the Bengalees was enacted on the stage, and thus attracted the attention of a still wider circle. An English translation of *Nildarpan* was published by Rev. Long of Calcutta. The exasperated indigo planters put the Reverend gentleman in Court. He was a man of courage. He did not disclose the name of the author, a Government official, but cheerfully submitted to the heavy fine imposed on him. Through the Vernacular Press, the grievances of the indigo cultivators, the ill-treatment they had long suffered and the indignity imposed on their champion Long reached the ears of people in the remotest parts of Bengal.

The influence of the Press was already great at this period. It popularised national thoughts and ideals and silently moulded public opinion on a large scale throughout the country. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was, in this as in many other departments of our growing activities, the pioneer. His paper, the *Sambad Kaumudi,* devoted itself mainly to social and educational

questions, but occasionally criticised administrative acts. From 1799 to 1834, the Press was under strict censorship. The Government of Metcalfe, in 1835, restored its freedom and it was thereafter that the Indian Press developed rapidly. The poet Ishwar Chandra Gupta, in his paper *Prabhakar*, began to write widely but cautiously on political subjects. The *Hindu Patriot* under Harish Chandra Mukherjee and later, under Kristo Das Pal became a power in Calcutta. The *Indian Mirror* of Narendranath Sen and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Sisir Kumar Ghose were noted for the courage with which they criticised the acts of Government. Doctor Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee edited the *Reis and Rayyet*, and voiced ably the aspirations of Indians. The only other Bengali papers that need be mentioned here are, the sedate *Som Prokash* and the popular paper, *Sulabh Samachar*. The earliest papers of the Western Presidency were the *Rast Goftar*, the *Bombay Samachar*, the *Jam-e-Jamshed* in Gujrati, and the *Indu Prakash* and the *Mahratta* in Marathi The well-known *Hindu* of Madras was started in 1878 by a group of brilliant men including Mr. Ananda Charlu. The *Tribune* of Lahore came later.

The growth of the Press was indeed phenomenal. The country boasted of 478 newspapers, mostly Vernacular, in 1875. By far the largest number of these papers belonged to Bengal which popularised the institution of cheap news sheets. These sheets were purveyors of all sorts of information, reliable and unreliable, but were mostly free critics of Government and never lost any opportunity of popularising the new spirit. With Government, the Indian Press generally carried but little weight, but it contributed powerfully to the education of the public mind. Its growing influence however excited the jealousy of the Anglo-Indian Press and easily frightened an autocrat of Lord Lytton's stamp. The Gagging Act, which was introduced by Lord Canning for a year only in 1858, was renewed by Lord Lytton. This high handed act filled the Indian mind with a strong resentment. There was an amusing incident connected with this Act. Sisir Kumar Ghose, as soon as he learnt of the passing of the Act, with magic suddenness, in a single night, brought the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* out in an English garb to the immense surprise of Government as well as of the public.

Literature and the National Awakening.

While newspapers were flooding the country, a galaxy of brilliant men, belonging to the English educated class, some of them in the service of Government, through dramas, novels and

poems held up before the public the new ideals of freedom and even made an attempt at the re-construction of Indian History in the light of their newly awakened patriotism. Some of these writings had, of necessity, to be veiled and, where the writers would probably have preferred to put "British" power, they had to be satisfied with the substitution of "Mahomedan" power. One reading between the lines can clearly see that writers of the stamp of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee or Hem Chandra Banerji could never have dreamt of firing Hindu feeling against Mahomedans. It was probably understood at the time, though at a later period critics have been freely misconstruing an exhortation towards nationalism to be an instigation towards communalism. While on the one hand, plays like *Bharatmata* and *Nildarpan* were being put on the stage in order to hold up the national ideal and racial pride before the public in general, books like the story of *Padmini* by Ranga Lal and *Ananda Matha* by Bankim, poems like *Bharat Sangit* by Hem Chandra and a host of other writings were performing the same service for the literate public. Later on, when Surendra Nath was going about the country, holding up before the young men, Mazzini's ideals of national unity, he got books written in Bengali about Mazzini's life and work. The unity of Italy under the leadership of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour, the war of Italian independence and the creation of an Italian state at this time must have powerfully affected the contemporary young men in India ; So also the unity of the Germanic states soon after and the formation of a National German Empire under the hegemony of Prussia could not but have fired the imagination of young Indians. In one of Hem Chandra's powerful patriotic poems, called the Lament of Mother India, the Poet puts into the mouth of the Mother words like these, "My old companion, Rome, died but lives again. A new life is running through the veins of old Greece too. Am I the only one destined to sleep for eternity?"

Along with the patriotic ideal, the new spirit, in matters social or religious, was preached with equal ardour by contemporary writers ; the great and versatile Raja Ram Mohan had set the ball rolling. His work was taken up by a group of earnest men who ran the Journal *Tattwa Bodhini Patrika* ; they sought to popularise Hinduism as found in the Upanishads, and advocated social reform with vigour, but never lost sight of the political ideal. Their chief was Devendranath Tagore, known and venerated as the Maharshi. His sons have been fighting the country's battle on many fields. Another, Raj Narayan Bose, strong and unbending in his love for his motherland has given to India his grandson,

Aurobindo Ghosh whom Chittaranjan Das described as "the Poet of Patriotism, the Prophet of Nationalism" in 1909. A third, Akshai Kumar Dutt, through his Charupath series, has moulded the character of three generations of Bengalees. These literary men, are the glory of Bengal and the pride of India, not because of their contribution to the literature of the world, but because of the splendid way in which they have helped in the ushering in of national consciousness and national pride.

Political Associations.

As already stated, Raja Ram Mohan was the pioneer political agitator in this country. His evidence before Parliament had great weight with the thinking men in England and the reforms, effected in the Indian Administration shortly afterwards, were to some extent based on that evidence. The Raja as a politician was not, however, fully understood in his own country, and another twenty years had to pass before Indians took up political agitation. In 1851, the British Indian Association was started in Calcutta under the inspiration of the orator Ram Gopal Ghose, the journalist Harish Chandra Mukherjee, the antiquarian Rajendra Lal Mitra and others. About the same time, Bombay founded her first association under the guidance of Jagannath Sankarsett and Dadabhai Naoroji of revered memory. The British Indian Association was the mouth-piece of the Zemindars, though, under the guidance of Kristo Das Pal, it never failed to champion the interests of the people, when called upon to do so. The Bombay Association acquired considerable weight when joined subsequently by Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai and the renowned Tribune of the People, Naoroji Fardunji. It did not, however, last quite 25 years. For a little while, the East India Association took its place, to be succeeded in the eighties by the now famous Presidency Association. Madras public life was apt to be rather slow at the start, but the brilliant men who started the *Hindu* in 1878, organized themselves into the Mahajan Sabha, six or seven years later. Poona had never quite gone to sleep. With education, Maharashtra took to progressive ideas eagerly and, with that splendid organizing power that is her heritage, created the Sarvajanik Sabha in 1872 and soon developed it into a powerful body. Ranade was the guiding star of the Poona intellectuals for several decades and a more brilliant man modern India has not produced.

In Bengal circumstances to which reference will be made hereafter, brought Surendra Nath Banerjea to the forefront of Indian political life. At this place, mention may be made

of the events which led to the foundation of the Indian Association. The British Indian Association was essentially an organisation of the landholders. Active political propaganda, the creation of political opinion and the organizing of public meetings were not within its scope. The Indian League had been started already under the guidance of the editors of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Reis and Rayyet.* Though both these gentlemen were men of exceptional cleverness and enthusiasm. the League did not gather much momentum, and did not satisfy the need of a powerful organization of the middle classes. In 1876, therefore, Surendra Nath with the ardent and patriotic A. M. Bose as his colleague inaugurated the famous Indian Association. Its principal object was to carry on an intensive political campaign throughout Bengal, and gradually to extend its scope and start an All India Political Organization.

A Town Hall Meeting (1876)

Before going into the career of Surendra Nath and the circumstances which directly led to the founding of an All India Organization. reference may here be made to an interesting incident which is politically of great importance, but which is known to very few to-day. After the assassination of the Earl of Mayo by the Wahabis, Lord Northbrook became the Viceroy of India. It was in Lord Northbrook's time that Malhar Rao, the Gaekwar of Baroda, was deposed and it appears that for this reason and possibly on other grounds there was in Calcutta a body of opinion against that Viceroy. When he was leaving India, a meeting was convened, as is usual, to consider the erection of a memorial to him. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was in the chair. To this meeting came Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee and nine others, with the idea of moving an amendment, the effect of which would have been a vote of censure on Lord Northbrook. Along with the English officials, Indians of light and leading were present at the meeting. When Mr. Mallik, the spokesman of the ten, gave notice of his amendment, the audience were thunderstruck. The Lieutenant-Governor himself was puzzled as to what course he should pursue. Rev. K. M. Banerji, the president of the Indian League who was present at the meeting. suggested that votes should be taken as to whether the moving of the amendment ought at all to be allowed. With the exception of the ten gentlemen themselves, all voted against the putting of the amendment. and, amidst general hissing, the ten left the meeting. Mr. Mallik above mentioned was a new

barrister, and was not a member of the Indian League, but most of the others were. The conduct of Dr. Banerji, who was the president of that League, was very interesting. It was alleged that he was most anxious to clear himself before the Governor. At the meeting, Keshab Chandra Sen expressed his strong disapprobation of the conduct of the ten miscreants. The *Indian Mirror*, the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Bengalee* in their issues likewise strongly censured these bold bad men. The chorus of opinion in these newspapers was that the decision of the Chairman was perfectly correct. The *Statesman* was about the only paper which had any doubts on the subject. It expressed itself in the following words "The meeting had a clear right, of course, to determine whether it would listen, and whether not; but the Chairman ought not to have refused to put the amendment. * * * * * * The Baboo should have been allowed to offer his amendment, and any others he had to propose, but the meeting had a full right to decline to hear him to speak thereto. We notice the matter since it may be useful to our young Republic to know the rule of such matters." The following quotation from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* gives the contrary view: "If freedom of the Press is of so estimable value, is not freedom of speech equally valuable? * * * * * It has been said that Babu Sambhu Chandra is at the bottom of this movement. If it is so, he has no reason to be ashamed of it * * He should not have gone there, or if he had gone there at all he should have gone with sufficient force to carry his point. In this Nineteenth Century, men are not judged by their motives, but success, and so the poet says:

> Treason never succeeds, and for this reason.
> If it succeeds, who dares call it treason?

But look to the other side of the question. This is the first time in the annals of important public meetings in this country, that ten men were found conscientious and energetic enough to oppose a movement * There was the sure prospect of a defeat and no prospect of reward, but yet inspite of all, amidst hisses of the many, they boldly fronted the Lieutenant-Governor himself to press their views upon the public. We only wish there were many such tens in our country, the political significance of the action of the ten can scarcely be over-rated."

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was then under the editorship of Sisir Kumar who was a leading spirit of the Indian League along with Doctor Sambhu Chandra. The *Bengalee* was not

yet connected with Surendra Nath. The action of Doctor K. M. Banerji, the president of the Indian League at the meeting is not hard to explain. Caution and decorum were the prominent characteristics of most public men in India in those days. "The immortal ten," as Kristo Das was fond of calling them, sounded a new note. It was about this time that the Indian Association came into existence under the guidance of the irrepressible Surendra Nath and the fiery-spirited Ananda Mohan. The country badly needed an organization of a more dynamic character than the older bodies. It is difficult to imagine to-day what importance the public of that time attached to the question of the entry of Indians into the Indian Civil Service. Surendra Nath had passed his examination in England and entered that service. For an insignificant lapse on his part, he was hounded out of the service and subsequently denied even the privilege of being enrolled as a member of the Bar. It was a piece of good fortune for the country. Surendra Nath was not the man to go under. He felt, and his countrymen agreed with him, that he suffered because of his race. He took to public life and threw himself with fiery ardour into all the public movements of his time. He, along with Ananda Mohan, organized the students of Calcutta into an association, and, in a short while, "Suren Babu" became the beloved leader of young Bengal. The Indian Association and the students' organization soon spread their ramification all through Bengal. Bengal thus made herself ready for Lord Lytton and his orgy of repression.

From the Company to the Crown.

The Proclamation of 1858 was primarily drawn up for the pacification of India after the Sepoy Mutiny. It proclaimed pithily but unequivocally the equality of White and Brown in the eyes of the Sovereign, but no equality did it actually bring. Nor was the assurance of good government really any greater after the Proclamation than before. The Directors of the Company had over them the Board of Control. Every 20 years, the Charter had to be renewed, and, on that occasion, Parliament scrutinised the administration of India. Very often, Indian affairs were made an important party question. All this changed after 1858; there was no Board of Control and there was no scrutiny. The Secretary of State was responsible to Parliament only in theory, for it was a notorious fact that a speech on Indian affairs was generally made to an empty house. There was no charter to be renewed and therefore no reason to make an enquiry into the doings of the Governor-General. A fetish was made of the "man on the

spot." The high hopes raised by the Proclamation were thus deferred and the heart of India was sick.

Lytton's Policy an impetus.

But the new India was no longer disposed to take things lying down. She began to realise the hollowness of promises and proclamations and girded up her loins for a struggle. The Universities, recently established, yearly threw out thousands of young men imbued with the spirit of progress and patriotism. So far, however, India had been suffering merely from cold neglect. The touch of repression ,a shock and a sense of common danger were necessary to push her into the next stage of political progress, namely united action. As has been observed already, the Indian publicists of the time were entirely averse to violent methods. A study of English History and Politics had made them constitutional and mildly democratic in their outlook. The national political movement, therefore ,was bound to be peaceful and legal. At this critical juncture, Lord Salisbury, he that called the revered Dadabhai a blackman, was Secretary of State. He sent out,as Governor-General to India, Lord Lytton, who was, by nature, a worse Nabob than any India had seen under the Company. It has been said that righteousness exalteth a nation. Equally true it is, that unrighteousness in the ruler exalteth the subject. Lord Lytton did that service to India. He called the Universities "educational hot-beds and forcing houses" and tried to deal a severe blow to the cause of higher education in the country, a cause that was in the eyes of the thinking Indian of those days as sacred as religion. The age limit for the Indian Civil Service candidate was reduced in such a fashion as would tend to make the entry of the Indian into that service well-nigh impossible. This was resented strongly by educated India as being diametrically opposed to the promises of Government in the Charter of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858. Then, Lytton started a most unjust and aggressive war on the frontier, causing fearful waste to India in men and money. India could ill afford any waste. A serious economic crisis following upon the American Civil War had dealt a hard blow to mercantile interests in the Western Presidency. A severe famine, one of the severest within memory, was ravaging the land. But what were famine and distress to a man like Lytton ? He wanted to have a Durbar at Delhi and proclaim Queen Victoria, Kaisar-I-Hind. He did this on a most lavish scale squandering the money of the famished peasantry of India. To stifle criticism, he gagged the Vernacular Press, earning thereby the bitter hatred of the class that was shaping public opinion in

India. He made a crowning exhibition of his mistrust of Indians by disarming the children of the soil, a measure, which had not been considered necessary even after the mutiny. Needless to say, this measure gave a severe blow to the *amour propre* of the landed gentry of the country. This feeling accounts for the response that this class made to the national propaganda in its earlier stages. As has been remarked already, the India of 1877 was not inclined to take all this lying down, least of all, a dynamic personality of Surendra Nath's type. The Civil Service question was brought to the fore-front, and an intensive agitation carried on in Bengal after a huge meeting of protest in the Calcutta Town Hall. In 1877 and 78, Surendra Nath made a tour over the whole of India, visiting all the important cities, and coming into touch with all the prominent men in the different provinces. He received a tremendous ovation. Where-ever he went, the local leaders of all races and religions responded enthusiastically to this emissary of Bengal. It was a mighty effort and it met with remarkable success. All educated India was for the first time brought upon a common platform and prepared for a common and united effort. The ground was thus laid for a national movement of unity and freedom. The memorial to the House of Commons on the Civil Service question was taken to England by a delegate of the Indian Association, Lalmohan Ghose. The fate of the memorial is a matter of no importance but the sending of a regular delegate to England and the success that attended his campaign in that country were of tremendous use in promoting race consciousness in India. To the Delhi Durbar, besides the Indian Princes, many leaders of Indian thought were invited as representatives of the Press and in other capacities. To their minds came the thought, that if all India could be got together for a show by a Viceroy, it could equally well be done in the name of the mother-land.

Ripon's Viceroyalty and a Lesson in agitation.

In 1879, to the immense relief of the people, Lord Lytton left the shores of India. Mr. Gladstone sent Lord Ripon out to soothe the outraged feelings of educated India. Kind-hearted gentleman that he was, he would have done it with conspicuous success. He restored the freedom of the Press, made the commencement of Local Self-Government, put an end to the devastating war on the frontier and, through the Ilbert Bill, sought to remove in part the brand of inferiority laid on the children of the soil. If this Bill had been passed Ripon would have earned for the British Government a deep debt of

gratitude from the Indian people. But it was not to be. Ripon's countrymen in India would not allow such a thing. To be tried by a Native Magistrate,—how could they allow it? As a planter of the time put it, "It is all nonsense to suppose you can get on without an occasional upset with the niggers, and our English Magistrates understand this. But if we have Native Magistrates we should be constantly getting run in for assault." An agitation, the like of which had never been seen in India, was set up by the ruling race. In the words of the *Pioneer*, on a later occasion, "the tiger qualities of the British Lion" were roused. A conspiracy was solemnly entered into for the purpose of kidnapping the Viceroy and sending him home, in case the Bill was passed into law. Lord Ripon had to give in and the Bill was practically dropped.

An All India Organisation.

The Indian people were not slow to learn the lesson of combined and intensive political agitation. History had taught them the theory already. Now they saw with their own eyes the English people in India, kith and kin of the Viceroy himself, combine against him for a cause, which could not be called righteous by any means, carry on a campaign of vilification, nay, sedition, with impunity. Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty, therefore, instead of soothing ruffled feelings of the Indian Nationalists brought racial animosity to a head. Thinking men all over the country began looking about for ways and means to organize advanced Indian thought, and, in the name of a united National Assembly, press for the redress of India's grievances. The gathering of Indians of all the provinces at Bombay to present valedictory addresses to Ripon, the visits to the international exhibition of Calcutta in 1884, the Delhi Durbar, these provided opportunities to leading Indians from different parts to meet and discuss this burning question. Already in 1883 the Indian Association of Calcutta had assembled a National Conference, where Surendra Nath had in his ardent language urged the formation of an all-India organization. During the following year with the mandate of the Indian Association, the Bengal leader made an extensive tour all over northern India, where he pressed this urgent matter at a number of meetings. In 1885, the second National Conference met in Calcutta and, this time, there were a few delegates present from other provinces, the most prominent of them being Mr. Mandlik of Bomaby and the Maharaja of Durbhanga. The National Conference was the precursor of the Indian National Congress and ultimately merged itself into that body. While the Second National Conference was being held in Calcutta, the Indian National Congress was being ushered into

existence at Bombay. It is somewhat difficult to-day to understand clearly how this happened, how in the year 1885 there were two national assemblies in session, but it is possible to guess at some of the reasons. The National Conference in Calcutta was entirely a spontaneous popular movement led by the irrepressible Surendra Nath and his colleagues; Surendra Nath was, in those days, the *enfant terrible* in Indian Politics. He was a dismissed Civilian, a professional demagogue and a released convict. He was a follower of Mazzini and an ardent advocate of democracy. The older leaders considered him irresponsible. Government looked askance at him. At its inception the National Congress, we know, was intimately connected with the Theosophical Society which had, though undeservedly, brought on itself, to some extent, the suspicion of Government. Mr. Hume and the other Theosophical leaders naturally did not want to incur further displeasure of Government by giving Surendra Nath a prominent place in the new organization.

CHAPTER II

THE BIRTH OF THE CONGRESS AND TWENTY YEARS THEREAFTER

Mr. Hume, the Father of Congress.

Of Mr. Hume nothing much need be said. As the Father of the National Congress, his name is known to every body. He had been a high official in the Indian Civil Service, and on his retirement devoted himself to the service of India. The Theosophical Society had been holding their annual convention every year, and it occurred to Mr. Hume that the principal men of every Province might likewise be brought together annually, for the discussion of social and other non-political problems affecting India. He found that there was a general agreement amongst the Indian public men on this point. He consulted the then Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, and it was the latter who expressed the opinion that there was no likelihood of unanimity on social subjects amongst the diverse communities of India, and suggested that such an annual conference was likely to be more useful if it discussed the administration and gave expression to the grievances of the people with regard to it. Mr. Hume and the Indian leaders accepted the suggestion, and it was decided to start the Indian National Congress as an All India Political Organization. It was consistent with the cautiousness that characterized the founders of the Congress that they should have sent Mr. Hume to England in order to make sure that there was no misconception amongst the English people about the objects of the Congress.

Dufferin and the Congress.

Lord Dufferin was a statesman of high merit. He was neither a dreamer nor a philanthropist. One wonders why he ushered in this All India Political Organization. It is well-known that within a very short period the Congress forfeited his Lordship's goodwill. The organization that he had honoured with the appellation of "Her Majesty's permanent Opposition in India" became in the short space of two or three years "a jump into the unknown," and "a microscopic minority of the Indian people." It is not difficult to guess the Viceroy's mentality. On his arrival in India, he must have seen that the educated and articulate portion of the country was seething with discontent. This discontent, he felt, must not be allowed to filter down to the dumb millions of India. If it did, there was no knowing what would happen. Give the intelligensia an unofficial Parliament to play with, and they would be satisfied ; and when they made their annual speeches, they would show what was in their minds. In furtherence of the same policy, he suggested to the Home Government in a secret despatch, that a few seats in the Legislative Councils might be thrown open to Indian representatives—in the course of five years Viscount Cross carried out this suggestion.

The Loyalty of the Congress.

As far as the first Congress went, things proceeded much as his Lordship had desired. In fact, the delegates were eager to display their loyalty by electing the Governor of Bombay as their President. The Viceroy expressed his unwillingness on the ground that the presence of an official in the chair might hamper the assembly's deliberations; thus re-assured, they put the eminent Calcutta lawyer, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, in the chair. But this sort of thing was too good to last. For the second Congress at Calcutta, delegates were regularly elected, and at Mr. Hume's suggestion, Surendra Nath and his following were incorporated into the Congress. The session showed so much enthusiasm and vitality that the Government of Lord Dufferin began to get scared. Soon, a crop of anti-congress ultra-loyalists showed themselves in different parts of the country. The great Mahomedan leader, Syed Ahmed, who had received Surendra Nath with open arms during the Civil Service agitation, set himself against the Congress, started the Patriotic Association and tried his level best to prevent Mahomedans from going to the third Congress at Madras. The Congress responded by electing a Mahomedan

President, Mr. Tyabji. Inspite of everything, the Madras sitting was a memorable success. The progressive politicians of the time prepared to start an extensive propaganda amongst the masses. Aswini Kumar Dutt, the eminent Barisal leader, had brought a petition to the Congress signed by 45,000 people, including lower caste cultivators, asking for reform of the legislatures. He stated that a very poor Mussalman had given him 4 annas to help the cause, and that another Mussalman peasant had told him "Look here, as we elect our Panchait and hold ourselves bound by its decisions, so let us elect our own men to be our legislators and they will pass laws by which we will gladly be bound." This was "playing with fire," and it was not what His Excellency the Viceroy had intended. Inspite of the fact that the Presidents and even the speakers at these sessions had repeatedly reiterated their loyalty and along with the asking of boons, avowed a firm faith in the conscience of the Britisher, the Congress began to forfeit the Viceroy's goodwill. One Provincial Governor, Sir Auckland Colvin, wrote a pamphlet warning all concerned about the dangerous consequences of the Congress propaganda. This was followed by a newspaper controversy between Mr. Hume and Sir Auckland. The Congress leaders of the time in their wisdom dropped all idea of a mass propaganda and were, for a few years more, satisfied with the holding of the annual sessions.

The fourth Congress was held at Allahabad, the capital of the U. P., whose Governor, Sir Auckland Colvin, had taken up cudgels against the Congress movement. The President was a Scottish merchant, Mr. George Yule by name a man of wide sympathies and of great position in India. Every obstacle was put in the way of the Reception Committee by the Civil and Military authorities in Allahabad. No suitable place for the meeting was available till, at the last moment, the Maharaja of Durbhanga purchased the Lowther Castle and handed over possession to the Committee. The Session was successful enough, the only difference being that the head of the province showed no courtsey to the Congress as on the previous occasions. The delegates of the second Congress had been received by the Viceroy and those at Madras by Lord Connemara. Auckland Colvin found it convenient to be away on tour. The fifth Congress at Bombay, in 1889, was a memorable session because of the presence of that eminent friend of the poor, the weak and the oppressed. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. The President was Sir William Wedderburn. From the earliest days of British rule there was in England a body of Englishmen who either for party purposes or from altruistic and philanthropic motives

had championed India's cause. Bradlaugh, Bright and Fawcett were notable men of the latter class. They had their proto-types even in the ranks of the Indian Civil Service, large-minded men like Hume, Cotton and Wedderburn. India had not found her own legs as yet and looked up to these English friends to protect her, and advance her interests in England. In 1890, the Congress met at Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta. By this time, the Congress cult had spread far and wide and the President proudly said, "We have survived the charge of being a microscopic minority, we have even managed to survive the grievious charge of being all Babus in disguise, we have survived ridicule, abuse and misrepresentation, we have survived the charge of sedition and disloyalty." But at the same time he had to admit "it is true that a majority of the Congress proposals do not seem to make much headway."

Propaganda in England.

It was in this year, that Government issued a ban against its officers attending the Congress. From this year onwards, as the animosity of Government increased, the Congress paid more and more attention to the propaganda in England. The famous journal *India* was started and a powerful British Committee of the Congress formed in England. An Indian Parliamentary Committee of over 150 members was organized soon after. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji got into Parliament in the liberal interest and when he presided over the ninth Congress at Lahore, he brought messages of good will from his constituents and from the Irish Party. Representative Indians henceforth kept on visiting England and addressing meetings all over the country. During this period, the leaders sincerely believed that an appeal to the conscience of the British people would bring the country all that it wanted. The Congress went on holding its annual session, passing its array of resolutions and making its weary and almost pathetic avowal of loyalty to the Throne and confidence in the British people. Nothing much in the way of boons or privileges was however secured. They could not have been withheld if a united nation had been demanding them. But a large portion of the landed aristocracy and the Mahomedan community had been successfully detached from the movement. Nor had the Congress drawn any nearer to India's illiterate masses. It could therefore be safely flouted.

The Young Men.

But to make up for all this, the Congress had become a most efficient institution for the teaching of assertive nationalism, nay, of sedition, to the growing young men of India. There was no deliberate teaching of disloyalty; on the contrary, as has been stated above, there was an ample and even a wearisome parade of loyalty. But the repeated discussion of India's wrongs, the reiteration of arguments tending to show that the Indian was nothing better than "a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, a mere helot, in the land of his birth," or insistence on facts proving the draining out of India's wealth, all these served but to embitter the mind of the young and the impressionable. The very fact that his elder felt called upon to sing praises of the foreign ruler while mourning for his country's miseries, made the young Indian all the more bitter. The attempt of Sir Charles Elliot to abolish trial by jury in Bengal and the imposition of taxes by Lord Elgin's Government in order to throttle the infant cotton industry of India, added but fuel to the fire. About 1890, in connection with the Age of Consent Bill, a powerful agitation had come into being among the orthodox sections of the Hindus. The agitation was, mainly but not entirely, restricted to Bengal. It had a political and an economic aspect. The political agitation culminated in the trial and imprisonment for sedition of the proprietor and editor of the *Bangabasi*, the organ of the orthodox Hindu party in Bengal. The economic side led to the establishment in Bengal of a small railway and several factories and to a general impetus to the dying industry of hand-loom weaving. The movement did not last long, but it left its heritage of anti-British feeling in the country.

Sitting on gun-powder.

The senior politicians in the Congress proceeded on their serene way, regardless of the gathering clouds. While Surendra Nath, Wacha and Gokhale were giving evidence in England before the Welby Commission, the even tenor of constitutional agitation was destined to receive a rude shock at Poona. The Black Plague had appeared in India and stringent measures had been taken by Government to combat it. It appears that these measures were carried out rudely and tactlessly in the city of Poona and this excited high feeling amidst the people, young and old. The result was a conspiracy, the murder of two English officials and a couple of Indian spies. The perpetrators of these crimes were discovered. They were young Brahmins belonging to the educated middle classes. About the same time,

the Queen's statue in Bombay was mutilated and it was ascribed to the same people. Mr. Gokhale, who had made certain statements in England about the oppressive nature of the plague measures, had to apologise immediately on his return to India. Two members of the landed aristocracy of Poona were deported under an obsolete Regulation of 1827. Mr. Tilak and two other editors of Poona newspapers were prosecuted for sedition. The Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, solemnly stated in Parliament at this time, that the British in India were sitting on gun powder all the time. No wonder the Congress leaders called 1897 the "Black year." It is obvious that somebody had bungled things badly. During this period, whenever any congress leader openly assailed the bureaucracy he was loudly acclaimed by the younger generation. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji who, of all the early leaders, believed in straight talk was the idol of the Indian students in England. When Mr. Mehta in the Imperial Council at Calcutta made a spirited attack on the Civil Service and the Police in 1895, he received a tremendous ovation. A public dinner and a reception in the Town Hall were organized in his honour. The grievances of the-Indians in South Africa came before the public eye and the Congress took up the matter in 1898. Mr. Gandhi had begun his agitation in Africa.

Lord Curzon.

Such was the state of things, when England sent as Viceroy to India, George Nathaniel Curzon, an ambitious, unscrupulous and pompous young nobleman but withal one, who proved to be the greatest benefactor of this unhappy land. His pomposity had earned him the epithet of "Superior Purzon" early in life. His bustling viceroyalty secured him the title of "prancing proconsul." Mrs. Besant speaking of India in 1898 says:

"The clouds were gathering on the political horizon, coercion was showing its hideous face, ensuring the growth of secret conspiracy, and alienating from the Government, which confessed its weakness by employing it, all that was best and noblest in the land. The famine and the plague had exercised a depressing influence in the country, and the dislike shown to the vivifying influence of English education had increased."

Moslems and the National Movement.

But before going on to the next stage in the life and growth of the Congress, a digression is necessary. In view of subsequent

developments, it is desirable to trace the connection of the Mussalmans, as a body, with the national movement and try to understand the mentality of that great community. After being the dominant power in India for several centuries, they found themselves reduced to mere pawns in the game of politics, in the 18th century. A scramble for the sceptre was proceeding between their erst-while subjects and the British power, with themselves, more or less, as on-lookers. This could not but have inspired them with feelings of dire despondency. They were lying hopelessly disunited at the mercy of their powerful neighbours. Ahmed Shah's victory at Panipat inspired Islam in India with a passing hope, but, shortly afterwards, the very same Afghans were torturing the Emperor Shah Alam and sacking his palace at Delhi. In his utter misery, it was to his "beloved son" Mahadji Sindhia, that the Emperor appealed for succour. The career of the Mysore dynasty, of Haider Ali and Tipu, was short and meteoric. The latter's intrigues with Napoleon constituted a passing attempt on the part of Islam in India to re-habilitate itself. The cautious Nizams by superior diplomacy managed to prevent their being swallowed up in the rising tide. The Wazirs of Oudh sought solace in poetry and music, till Dalhousie wiped that state off the map of India. The Mutiny of '57 inspired Islam with a passing hope of the revival of Delhi's glory. But, with the suppression of that movement, and the collapse of the Wahabi conspiracy a few years later, Mahomedans realised like the Hindus that they must give up regretting the past and take to modern education.

The Hindus had forestalled them in this direction and had, under the patronage of the British Government, already made for themselves a position of some importance. The fathers of the national movement were anxious to secure Moslem co-operation. The early leaders of that community were likewise keen on joining the Hindu national leaders. Sir Syed Ahmed, as has been said already, joined the Civil Service agitation of Surendra Nath with enthusiasm. The Mahomedans of Calcutta under the leadership of Syed Amir Ali took part in the inauguration of the Indian National Conference at Calcutta. Sir Syed Ahmed's favourite saying was that the Hindus and the Musalmans were like the two eyes of Fair India, meaning, that neither could be hurt without mutilating the maiden. But what all these Musalman leaders felt was that the immediate need of their community was education. They knew that great as their past was, without education, they would play a very subordinate part in any modern movement. They, therefore, sacrificed everything to the cause of education. Exceptions there

undoubtedly were, of great and far-seeing men, who, by the prominent part they took in the Congress, side by side with the Hindus and the Parsees, kept their community in touch with the national movement. There was only one Mahomedan delegate, Mr. Sayani, at the first Congress, there were 33 at the second, 81 at the third, 221 at the fourth. It will be remembered that the anti-congress attitude of Government became very pronounced at this stage, and, hence-forward, Mahomedans, as a community, began definitely to secede from the Congress. At the Bombay Congress, the number of the Mahomedan delegates went up to over 250 but that was only under special circumstances. Bradlaugh's presence attracted many, and the Bombay Musalmans of the mercantile communities were undoubtedly more progressive than their brethern in the rest of India. From about 1890, the Musalman Community were for several years outside the Congress. These years they spent in working for the cause of education and in consolidating themselves.

To say that the Musalman kept out of the Congress because of his disloyalty, is ridiculous. The history of the Musalman period in India does not tell us any extraordinary story of Moslem loyalty. They could not have developped that virtue all of a sudden. The reason for their attitude is perfectly clear. They wanted all the help they could from Government for education. The Hindu was apathetic, though patronizing, and to ask for help from the race they once ruled must have seemed galling to Moslems. Then, the centrifugal tendency of Pan-Islamism has also to be allowed for. As long as Islam in India was powerful it did not care for the feelings of other Islamic powers as such, but in the days of their degradation and misery, it is but natural that they should look to their more fortunate co-religionists for help and sympathy and that they should dream of future glory as members of a Pan-Islamic federation. Improved communications, the spread of newspapers and discussion in Anjumans and Conferences brought the Pan-Islamic cult to every Musalman's door. At a later period, this led to the sending out of a medical mission to Turkey, the raising of a Red Cresent Fund and the organization of the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Caaba.

The Moslen League.

The community at first held educational conferences only; at these, British officials were freely invited to be present. With the spread of English education, however, the community began to think more and more of the political problems

before the country. Moved by the success of the Congress propaganda, and probably under the influence of the Mahomedan leaders in the Congress, the Moslem League was established. The Aligarh College, the premier educational institution of the Mahomedans, was at first a reactionary centre, but gradually caught the political infection. The activities of the younger political leaders in Egypt and Turkey could not fail to make a deep impression on the young Moslem mind in India. The rash speeches of liberal leaders, like Sir Edward Grey, on the Balkan question went far to alienate Mahomedans. The point to remember is that there was no deep-seated loyalty. There was only an implied pact by which the Mahomedans, in return for antipathy to the Congress, were to get Government help in the matter of education, and Government patronage in connection with jobs. But Musalman education was now well under weigh and the leaders had no longer the same reasons as before to pass for loyal non-politicals. An understanding between the Congress and the League was inevitable. The advent of Lord Curzon merely delayed it. The attitude of the Congress towards the Musalmans was throughout dignified and impartial. The Mahomedans who came to join it were received with open arms and even in those early years it never lost the chance of electing a Musalman to preside over its deliberation. As Mahomedan opinion organised itself, it began to object more and more pointedly to the wars waged constantly against their co-religionists on the frontier. This feeling showed itself in 1897 when the progressive Anjuman-i-Islam of London refused to vote an address of loyalty to the Queen on the occasion of her Diamond Jubilee. An incident that showed which way the wind was blowing was the presence of 300 Mahomedan delegates from Lucknow alone at the fifteenth Congress in 1899.

Curzon's Policy.

Lord Curzon came out to India, with his mind made up, to set back the clock of political progress, and to prevent a re-union between Hindus and Mussalmans. He had also for reasons of his own apparently selected Bengal for his special attention. But, this India did not know. The Indian Association presented an address and the Indian National Congress, apparently deceived by his Lordship's habit of talking platitudes, cordially welcomed him by a resolution passed at its fourteenth session. The president expressed a hope, that when Lord Curzon left the country, he might carry with him some of the love that followed Mr. Gladstone on leaving the world. That Curzon's name should have

been coupled with that of Gladstone, appears very strange indeed—Gladstone, who had said, "It is liberty alone, which fits men for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds; but it is far safer than the counter doctrine, wait till they are fit," and Curzon, who looked on liberalism in politics as an unfortunate weakness of the middle classes. However, the Congress was destined very soon to find out its mistake. The Viceroy threw ridicule on this venerable body by comparing its resolutions with the popping and fizzing of soda water bottles. At the next Congress at Lucknow, the President Mr. Romesh Dutt had occasion to grieve over the withdrawal of Self-Government from Calcutta by the Municipal Act passed in the first year of Lord Curzon's administration. Following the traditional loyalty of the Congress, however, he gave the Viceroy credit for honesty of purpose and a "sincere desire to work for the good of the people and with the help and co-operation of the people." Surendra Nath in his speech on the resolution said, "We cannot bring ourselves to believe that a ruler so sympathetic in his utterances, so generous, so large-hearted in his views, so keenly appreciative of the situation, will countenance a policy opposed to the best traditions of British Rule, repugnant to all that is highest, noblest and truest in British statesmanship. Read that speech, contrast that speech with the policy. The speech, how noble, how generous, how sympathetic; the policy, how narrow, how illiberal, how un-English."

Officialising of Institutions.

However temperate the words of the President and Surendra Nath were, what had happened was clear. The civic rights of Calcutta, the metropolis of India, had been destroyed by one stroke of the pen. It was so understood by the public, for, over two dozen members of the Corporation, some of whom had grown grey in the service of their city, resigned by way of protest. It was dinned into the ears of the people that after 15 years of constitutional agitation for more rights, instead of getting any fresh privileges, the people had begun to lose what they had. Sometime later, a similar blow was sought to be aimed at the Bombay Municipality. For keeping out its renowned leader and champion, Pherozeshah Mehta, a caucus was formed of officials and certain personal enemies of Mr. Mehta. The public of the Western Presidency believed that it was nothing but a veiled attempt on Curzon's part to bring the Bombay Municipality under Government control. A similar attempt on the Madras Municipality was

made to which reference will be made later. Like the Calcutta Municipality, the Calcutta University received the kindly attention of Lord Curzon. He shared the general view of autocrats and reactionaries, all the world over, that indiscriminate education was not good for the people. He sought to officialize the Universities and dole out learning in measured doses. The President of the Seventeenth Congress in his speech said, "Insane imperialism, to use Mr. Morley's phrase, with its mischievous policy of retrogression and repression is in the ascendant for the moment. No doubt we have good Government, but it is not unmixed with many an evil." At this session, Mr. Gandhi was present, and moved the resolution on South Africa as "a petitioner on behalf of the 100,000 British-Indians in South Africa." But the most interesting speech was that of Mr. Smedley who said, "These resolutions seem to me to be making so small a demand that they will be glad to allow you these little things to keep you off Home Rule. My last word is, 'Go in for Home Rule for India' and the blessings of God rest on your efforts."

The Queen Empress had died in 1901 and the Congress formally expressed its profound sorrow. In this connection, mention may be made of the gigantic demonstration in Calcutta, where the Calcutta people in lacs, under the lead of the Sangit Samaj, in characteristic Indian fashion showed their deep respect to the deceased Sovereign. It was a tremendous success and Lord Curzon, who saw it, exclaimed "If it is real, what does it mean?" It certainly did not mean that the people approved of Lord Curzon; it showed that the people of India knew about the Proclamation of '58, and thoroughly understood the maxim "the King can do no wrong." The accession of Edward VII gave Lord Curzon the opportunity of indulging in a Darbar. The parallel with Lord Lytton was so far complete. First famine and plague, then a blow at the cherished institutions of the people, followed by an attempt to stifle higher education and lastly a Darbar at Delhi.

Universities Act and other measures.

The Congress had never been unfair to Lord Curzon. At the sixteenth session Surendra Nath moved a resolution and thanked Lord Curzon for his famine policy and his policy with regard to outrages by soldiers, while blaming him for his policy with regard to Local Self-Government, Education and Land Legislation. Over the University's Bill, there was a vigorous agitation. A Town-Hall meeting was organized and a largely signed memorial submitted to Government protesting against the recommendations of the Commission. Mr. Justice Gooroodass Banerjea had written a

strong minute of dissent. The eighteenth Congress passed a well-considered resolution. All this had some effect. The Government of India, in part, accepted the popular view. It must be added here, that, in the years to come, the great Asutosh Mookerjee, who had supreme influence in the Calcutta University, so managed the Institution, that higher education in Bengal, instead of being crippled by Lord Curzon's measure, spread in an unprecedented manner. This was the fate of most of Lord Curzon's innovations. The Calcutta University became after his days more independent and more powerful than it had been before, while the Calcutta Municipality one day came entirely under popular control.

The veteran political leader Lalmohan Ghose, who under the aegis of John Bright had stood for Parliament in the eighties, presided over the nineteenth session of the Congress. He made a remarkable speech surveying the political horizon and made a trenchant criticism of the University's Bill and the new Official Secrets Bill. Regarding the Delhi Darbar, he said, "Do you think that any administration, in England, or France, or the United States of America, would have ventured to waste vast sums of money on an empty pageant, when famine and pestilence were stalking over the land, and the Angel of Death was flapping his wings almost within hearing of the light-hearted reveller?" He called the Durbar a pompous pageant to a perishing people, and said; "Gentlemen, a year has now rolled by since the great political pageant was held at Delhi against the almost unanimous protest of all our public and representative men, both in the press and on the platform. * * * * Our protest was disregarded, and the great *tamasha* was celebrated with that utter recklessness of expense which you may always expect when men, no matter, how highly placed, were dealing with other people's money and were practically accountable to no one for their acts." Surendra Nath, speaking of the resolution about University reform, said, "Lord Curzon's name would go down to posterity indissolubly linked with a reactionary and retrograde measure, which had been condemned by the unanimous opinion of educated India." Of the experts, who had advised Government and recommended changes, Surendra Nath said, "They had met in secret, deliberated in secret, resolved in secret and, I presume, dispersed in secret." The Congress passed a resolution against the Bill then pending about the reform of the Madras Municipality. The language of the speakers at this session was strong, but even the President did not forget to call Lord Curzon "a large-hearted statesman." The 20th Congress, the last session before the Partition of Bengal, was presided over by Sir Henry Cotton, a retired

Civilian, but a trusted friend of the people of India, who had tried during his long career in India to work for the educated community as honestly as for the tea-garden cooly in Assam. The principal speakers were tried moderates like Mr. Mehta, Surendra Nath and Ambika Charan Majumdar. Yet the language used was strong. The following extract from Surendra Nath's speech will show the growing resentment of the Congress leaders.

"Lord Curzon from his place in the Imperial Council (I am quoting the substance of what he said), declared, that, by our environments, our heritage, and our up-bringing, we are unequal to the responsibilities of a high office under the British rule. I venture to say, Sir, that never was a deeper affront offered to the people of India by the representative of the Sovereign. It is bad enough to repudiate the Proclamation, but it is adding insult to injury to cast a slur upon the people of this country. In your name and on your behalf, Gentlemen, I desire to record my most emphatic protest against this assumption of our racial inferiority. Are Asiatics inferior to Europeans? Let Japan answer. Are Indians inferior to Europeans? Let Lord George Hamilton answer, and Lord George Hamilton is not a friend of the people of this country. Gentelmen, are we the representatives of an inferior race, we, who are the descendants of those who, in the modern world, while all Europe was steeped in superstition and ignorance, held aloft the torch of civilisation? Are we the representatives of an inferior race, from whose shores, forsooth, went forth those missionaries who have converted two-thirds of the human race into moral superiority?"

Two delegates from South Africa described vividly, from personal experience, the sufferings of the Indians in that colony. Against the proposed partition of Bengal, a protest was made briefly by two prominent delegates from Bengal. The atmosphere was one of gloom, the gloom thrown over educated India by the "series of repressive measures, legislative and administrative, forced by Lord Curzon on the country in the teeth of the fiercest opposition from the public" as is described in the Congress Official Record. Disapproval of Government forward policy in Tibet was embodied in a resolution the mover of which, Mr. Wadia, strongly criticized the Viceroy's mischievous missions. The employment of Indian troops to subjugate patriotic people fighting for their country was protested against. This resolution goes to indicate the extension of the range of vision of the Congress. Asiatic people were winning victories over a first class European power. The effect of it on the outlook of the Congress is

clear from the several speeches made in the Congress about this time. But as yet the Congress had not ceased to believe in the old methods. Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn and even Lokmanya Tilak laid stress on the need of agitation in England.

Lord Curzon on being appointed Viceroy of India had made several speeches. He was so fond of making them. In one of them he had said, "I love India, its people, its history, its Government, the complexities of its civilisation and life." In another, he had emphasized that a Viceroy of India must have "courage and sympathy." It is but natural that such sentiments should have inspired educated India with great expectations. But the courage he displayed was mainly in defiance of public opinion. He, undoubtedly, showed his sympathy in a more humane famine policy and in attempts to do justice in cases of outrage by Tommies. His love for India's history showed itself in the steps he took for the preservation of old monuments. Like the typical autocrat he was, he had in a corner of his heart some kindness for complacent slaves, but, to the Indian who asked for rights and privileges, however humbly he did it, his response was the mailed fist. Even his own countrymen who did not see eye to eye with him, men like Cotton and Smeaton, had to go to the wall. At the outset, in his career in India he had grandiloquently laid down his programme under twelve heads. His principal object, which he had not specified, was an apotheosis of British Rule in his own proper person. His crowning act of folly was the Partition of Bengal. India has no reason to bear him any ill-will for this, but, to his own people and to the Government he served, he wantonly left a legacy of trouble. Later on, in Parliament, he tried to shift the responsibility on to Lord Ampthill, but to-day, there can be but little doubt that he was the sole author of the partition and that he did it to destroy the political influence of Bengal and to sow the seed of communal discord in a province which was remarkably free from it.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW ERA

Before, coming to the Partition of Bengal, it is necessary to take a brief survey of the state of things in India in general and in Bengal in particular. It has been mentioned already that the Congress, from motives of prudence, had very early in its career dropped the idea of preaching the national propaganda amongst the masses of India. Though Provincial

Conferences had been started, and Industrial Exhibitions organized at every session since 1896, the appeal of the Congress had been made, mainly, to the educated minority. The ideal put before this minority was that by vigorous agitation in this country and in England, the British people should be induced to grant India concessions, so as to make the people fit, step by step, for Self-Government. But from the very nature of things, inspite of the moderation of the Congress, its propaganda was breeding in the younger minds a strong race consciousness and feelings of antipathy towards the ruling race. Moreover, with the spread of journalism, the Indian public came into touch with events occurring outside India, and these began to have their influence in the shaping of public opinion. The affairs of Ireland, the doings of the Young Turk, the establishment of a Mejlis in Persia, the phenomenal rise of Japan, the Chinese Boxers' hatred of the "foreign devil," all these in their turn stirred the Indian mind. Maharastra, under Tilak, was the first to institute a mass propaganda. "Ganpati Melas," popular national festivals of Maharastra, were re-organized and used for political purposes. An annual Sivaji celebration was started when the educated Brahmin and the illiterate non-Brahmin together sang praises of the national hero. After 1897, this movement was keenly watched by Government, and men in Government service were prevented from attending them—a strange contrast with the laying of the foundation stone of the Sivaji Memorial, at Poona, twenty years later, by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales himself!

Rabindranath and Vivekananda.

In time, the Sivaji cult spread to Bengal, and Rabindra Nath, in a famous poem, voiced the new feeling of Bengal towards the national hero of the Marathas. The part played by Bengal's national poet in shaping Bengali thought during this period was unique. The versatile poet, first in the *Sadhana*, then in the *Banga-darshan*, by ardent poems that appealed to the imagination, and by thoughtful essays that appealed to reason, sought to turn the mind of India towards herself. In essays like "Attyukti" (Exaggeration), he exposed the hollowness of modern Europe's pretensions to ethical superiority. In others, such as Swadeshi Samaj, he urged, that, for national re-construction, it was useless looking up to outsiders; they could not help us even if they would. The British were entitled to collect taxes and carry on the administration; let them do so, but let us stir ourselves and build up a Swadeshi Samaj on the sure foundation of our own

history and our own ancient culture. Swami Vivekananda's teachings, his success in America and Europe, had already had a powerful effect in stimulating race consciousness. It had awakened in the mind of India a new pride and a new hope. His constant reiteration of the idea *Nayamatma balahinena labhya*, "Realisation is not for the Weak," inspired young India. Neither Vivekananda nor Rabindra made any incitement against Government established by law in this country. All the same, their institutions, the Ramkrishna Mission and the Santiniketan respectively, acquired a bad odour during a later period of general scare and suspicion.

Bepin Chandra and Brahma Bandhab.

Direct political work was taken up by the *New India* of Bipin Chandra Pal, an old Congressman, and the *Sandhya* of Brahma Bandhab Upadhyaya. The former was in English and circulated amongst the educated people only, the latter was in Bengali, a very simple but very eloquent Bengali, and appealed to all classes. Both, in incisive and stirring language, preached the ideal of national autonomy, laid stress on the need of the Indian people organizing themselves, and relying, for progress, on their own strength alone. Both declared unequivocally that Great Britain had no right to expect any loyalty from India beyond a bare obediece to law. This was clearly a challenge thrown out to the Congress leaders and a struggle between the new and the old schools was inevitable. Mr. Ashutosh Chaudhuri, a veteran Congress leader, presiding over a Session of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Burdwan, voiced the new ideas. He boldly proclaimed that a subject nation had no politics, and characterized the Congress methods as mendicancy. Mr. Okakura, the Japanese artist and author visited India in 1902 and remained here for some months. He discussed politics with some of the leaders of nationalism and tried to interest them in his scheme of organizing a Pan-Asiatic Congress. This interest, that a Sino-Japanese organization took in Indian affairs created great enthusiasm. Japan's victory over Russia, shortly afterwards, had a powerful effect on political thought. Great interest began to be taken in Japan. Hearn's book on Japan, Kokoro, Nitobe's book on Bushido the spirit of the Samurai, were widely read at the time. "Letters of John Chinaman," a pamphlet purporting to describe the oppression of Chinamen by the allied forces during the Boxer rising, was translated into Bengali, widely circulated, and read with avidity.

The Partition of Bengal.

It was at such a juncture that Curzon thought it fit to throw out a challenge to the people of Bengal. The province of Bengal, as it stood originally, consisted of Bengal, Assam, Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, a charge, by far too large for one Provincial Governor. In the interest of administrative efficiency, it had to be divided. Assam was separated in 1874. Though three Bengalee speaking districts were then taken out of Bengal, there was not much of an agitation as public opinion had not yet become powerful. For certain administrative purposes, the new province of Assam was too small. The first proposal for enlarging Assam was that the Chittagong division should be taken out of Bengal and tacked on to it. There was a strong protest from the Chittagong Division supported by the whole public of Bengal. The proposal was dropped. It was revived again in Lord Curzon's time. Surendra Nath thus describes what happened:

"Lord Curzon was now at the head of affairs. His energy was feverish. He was upsetting and unsettling things. The question of boundaries attracted his attention. The map of India was to be recast, but by pacific methods and with the impress of his genius and superior personality stamped thereon. Here was this unsettled question. It was taken up and its scope further expanded. The proposal now assumed the form of the separation from Bengal of the whole of the Chittagong Division, to which the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh were to be added, and this area was to be incorporated into Assam. It was in this form that the proposal came up for discussion before the public of Bengal. It roused strong opposition among all sections of the community, Hindus and Mahomedans alike. It was an opposition that the Government could not ignore. The Government sought to persuade and to conciliate, by conferences with the leaders of East Bengal."

Curzon a political agitator.

As the proposal then stood, it was embodied in a resolution of the Government of India dated 3-12-1903. The President of the Congress in 1903, Lalmohan Ghose, strongly protested against it in his presidential address. From December 1903 to October 1905, there were over 2000 public meetings of Hindus and Mussalmans to protest against the partition proposed. The Congress of 1904, as already mentioned, recorded its objection to the measure. The agitation very possibly upset Lord Curzon's nerves,

for, in February 1905, at the Convocation of the Calcutta University, in a speech he charged Orientals with lack of veracity. At a Town-Hall Meeting on 11-3-1905 an exasperated people met and recorded what was practically a vote of censure on Lord Curzon. "This was of course too much for a sensitive Viceroy to tolerate and, descending from the proud pedestal of a Viceroy, Lord Curzon assumed the role of a political agitator, which he had so strongly condemned in his Convocation speech." The Viceroy then made a tour in East Bengal, got large meetings of Mahomedans convened and explained to them that in partitioning Bengal, his main idea was to create a predominantly Mahomedan Province. He improved on his original plan and now included the whole of Dacca Division and the six districts of North Bengal in the new Province. The Musalmans of East Bengal, as a body, led by the Nawab of Dacca, accepted the Partition, with only a few honourable exceptions.

The Boycott resolution.

The whole Partition scheme was disclosed, for the first time, in a Government Notification of July, 1905. It was announced as a settled fact and was to come into operation on the 16th of October. Lord Morley said in Parliament, later on, "The final scheme was never submitted to the judgment of anybody in Bengal." How did Bengal take this bomb-shell dropped on her head? As has been already explained, India, particularly Bengal, was sick of sending petitions. On August 7, a meeting was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, to which came delegates from all parts of Bengal. All classes were represented and the Maharaja of Cossimbazar was in the chair. The now famous resolution on the Boycott of British goods was adopted. The resolution ran as follows :

"That this meeting fully sympathizes with the resolution adopted at many meetings held in the Mofussil to abstain from the purchase of British manufactures so long as the Partition resolution is not withdrawn, as a protest against the indifference of the British public in regard to Indian affairs and the consequent disregard of Indian public opinion by the present Government."

From the wording it is clear that the aim and purpose of the Boycott was to draw the attention of the British public to Bengal's grievances. It could not but be otherwise, having regard to the fact, that the British Indian Association and other conser-

vative elements in Bengal were represented at this meeting. Reference has already been made to the influence of events in the far East on India. The Bengal Boycott was no doubt suggested by the successful boycott of American goods in China. The *Statesman* remarked, "It has been apparent for some time past that the people of the Province are learning other and more powerful methods of protest. The Government will recognize the new note of practicality which the present situation has brought into political agitation." To the vast majority of Bengalees the boycott was in no sense an appeal to the British public. It was, clearly an angry act of retaliation and marked "a new phase in the evolution of nationalist politics." The 16th of October, the day of Partition, was observed all over Bengal with all the solemnity of a religious festival. People fasted, sang swadeshi hymns, and, in token of eternal brotherhood tied silken wristlets on each other's wrists. The Government of India were not prepared to face this outburst of patriotic fire in the masses of Bengal. The situation was, as if a whole people had set themselves to pitch their strength against the strength of their rulers. Surendra Nath thus describes the situation :

"I have not witnessed a revolution in my time, nor by an effort of the imagination can I conceive what it is like. But, amid the upheaval of the Swadeshi movement, I could, I think, obtain some idea of the transformation of public feeling and of the wild excitement which must precede a revolutionary movement. A strange atmosphere is created. Young and old, rich and poor, literate and illiterate, all breathe it and all are swayed and moved and even transported by the invisible influence that is felt. Reason halts ; judgment is held in suspense ; it is one mighty impulse that moves the heart of the community and carries everything before it."

The Swadeshi Movement.

Though the spirit of revolution was abroad, there was no appeal to violence and except in a very few cases, no resort to it. Students organized themselves for the service of the motherland. The song 'Bande Mataram' occurring in a novel written many years ago was taken up as the national hymn and the phrase 'Bande Mataram' became the Mantra or the holy word of the new cult. The young men were every-where in small groups or in large bodies preaching the Boycott and urging the purchase of Swadeshi (home-made) goods. The Educational Department tried to restrain these boys by the now-famous Carlyle Circular. The result was

that the Boycott movement spread to schools and Universities under the control of Government. Gradually, the boycott of British Courts was added to the programme. The situation called for constructive work as well and the leaders busied themselves with the organization of indigenous arts and industries. A National University, with a University College, was established and National Schools sprang up all over Bengal. The college still survives as the College of Technology at Jadavpur and is a flourishing institution. It was Subodh Chandra Mallik (interned in 1908) who started the National University movement by announcing a gift of one lac; as Raja Subodh, he was the idol of the boys of Calcutta in 1906, 1907 and 1908. The spirit of boycott against the courts found expression in the establishment of a number of arbitration courts all over the province. The Governor of the new Province felt the full force of this boycott. Inspite of earnest endeavours, the local authorities could nowhere muster more than a few dozen people to receive him, when he visited any town. The people's declaration on the 16th of October ran in these terms, "Whereas the Government has thought fit to effectuate the Partition of Bengal inspite of the universal protest of the Bengali nation, we hereby pledge and proclaim that we as a people shall do everything in our power to counteract the evil effects of the dismemberment of our Province and to maintain the integrity of our race. So may God help us." An era of repression followed, but Bengal stood undaunted.

The Benares Congress.

The twenty-first Congress met at Benares, with Mr. Gokhale in the chair. The Congress recorded its emphatic protest against the partition of Bengal and expressed its approval of the boycott of foreign goods in Bengal. It also protested against the repressive measures that had been adopted in Bengal. Lala Lajpat Rai, in seconding this resolution, congratulated Bengal on its splendid opportunity of heralding a new political era for the country. He added, that, if other Provinces followed the example of Bengal, the day was not far distant when they would win. The meeting of the Subjects' Committee had been a strenuous and stormy one. The Bengal delegates along with Mr. Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai had tried their best to persuade the Congress to accept the Bengal political programme, but the more conservative forces prevailed and the Congress merely set its seal of approval on what Bengal was doing. Mr. Gokhale's work in England as delegate was approved of, and he was asked to go again. The National

movement in Bengal was, at the time, up against two fetishes, the fetish of prestige and the fetish of constitutional agitation. There was clearly trouble ahead. Lord Curzon, however, removed himself from India this year. Thus ended, in the words of Ambika Charan Majumdar, "the efficient administration of the brilliant Viceroy who after seven years of vigorous rule, found his unpopularity to be so universal, that he advisedly left India, as it were, by the backdoor, without paying even the customary farewell visit to the Metropolis where the historic Viceregal Palace recalled to him, as he himself said, the memories of his baronial castle of Kedlestone."

Barisal Conference.

The movement in Bengal, however, continued unabated, inspite of stern repression. To quote from Surendra Nath again:

"There was, throughout, a persistent attempt to suppress the expression of public feeling in the name of law and order; and as always happens in such cases, the attempt at repression recoiled upon its authors. More repressive measures were requisitioned; and the more signally did they fail; and the public excitement and unrest grew apace."

Things went from bad to worse. "Bande Mataram" which had been tacitly accepted as a national cry seems to have aroused the ire of the authorities and the Government of East Bengal issued a circular making the shouting of this phrase in the public streets illegal. This led to serious consequences at Barisal. In April, 1906, a Provincial Conference was to meet there. The local authorities had obtained from Aswini Kumar Dutt and other Barisal leaders an assurance that there would be no crying of Bande Mataram in the streets, while welcoming the delegates. Among the delegates there were many, who were averse to any regard being shown to this agreement. A compromise was arrived at and it was agreed before landing from the steamer, that on all occasions, subsequent to the first reception of the delegates, "Bande Mataram" should be cried, just as if there was no Government order to the contrary. On the day of the Conference, the delegates, in a procession, proceeded towards the Conference pandal, led by the President Mr. Rasul, and other eminent leaders of Bengal. By order of the leaders, the delegates and volunteers were entirely unarmed, even the carrying of walking sticks and umbrellas having been forbidden. The police charged this orderly procession and assaulted several delegates and volunteers. Surendra Nath was arrested and taken to the District Magistrate, who fined him Rs. 200/- for crying "Bande Mataram", and Rs. 200/ for contempt of court. As

a matter of fact, if Surendra Nath is to be believed, "Bande Mataram" had not been shouted at all till the attack by the police commenced. The whole thing appeared to have been pre-arranged. The Conference sat on the first day, but did not take up ordinary business and the time was spent mostly in angry speeches, in which several prominent Congress leaders took part. The delegates dispersed in the evening, shouting "Bande Mataram," but were not interfered with. The next day the Superintendent of Police appeared at the Conference and dispersed it, as the President was not prepared to give any guarantee about the shouting of Bande Mataram in the streets. It ought to be mentioned here, that, in the Conference pandal there were several ladies including Mrs. Rasul.

What happened at Barisal occurred on a small scale all over Bengal. The effect of the Barisal incident was two-fold. The agitation redoubled itself in vigour and the old leaders were some how discredited in the eyes of the people. It was after this that Aurobindo Ghose began to be looked up to as the leader and the spokesman of the Bengal Nationalists. He had already taken up the editorship of the "Bande Mataram" which had become the acknowledged organ of the forward party. Bipin Chandra Pal was the most notable public speaker of this party. Rabindra Nath, who, as already observed, had by his writings contributed powerfully to the growth of the New Spirit, now kept it at fever heat with a succession of inspiring and sweet songs, set to the familiar folk tune of Baul. At a meeting in Calcutta, Narendra Nath Sen, the most moderate among the political leaders of Bengal after describing the Barisal outrage said, "The press and the platform are but safety valves of popular discontent. Whenever they have been sought to be suppressed, anarchy has intervened." Soon after these prophetic words, the revolutionary movement made its appearance in Bengal. This movement, as has been amply proved, was not initiated by any particular person or persons, but its birth was inevitable under the circumstances. When angry passions are roused, some would sulk, some would rant, while there always would be some who would break into violence. It is purely temperamental, and the only known way of avoiding an appeal to violence is to avoid rousing of angry passions. The outbreak of organized lawlessness amongst the lower classes of Mussalmans in East Bengal had somehow been ascribed to Sir Bamfylde Fuller and his Government. This impression, which was then general amongst the Hindus, conduced in no small degree to the institution of terrorism in this Province.

The Swaraj Congress.

The twenty-second Session of the Congress was held at Calcutta. Tilak was at that time the acknowledged leader of the new party and it was the general desire of that party to have as President of the Congress their foremost man, the man who had proclaimed that "Swaraj" was the birthright of Indians. The older leaders of the Congress felt, that under such a pilot their beloved ship was sure to founder on the rocks. They had recourse to a piece of strategy. The Grand Old Man was offered the chair by wire and he accepted it. That settled the question of Presidentship. All India trusted Dadabhai and at the Session of 1906, he amply justified that trust. Very far from lowering the flag of the Congress, he boldly put forward "Swaraj" as the goal of the Congress. He made the meaning of Swaraj clear as "Self-Government as in the Colonies or the United Kingdom." The resolution on Self-Government laid down as the goal of the Congress, Self-Government as in the British Colonies, and urged reform of four kinds as steps leading to it:

(a) Simultaneous examinations for the public services.

(b) Adequate Indian Representation in the Council of the Secretary of State and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Bombay and Madras.

(c) Expansion of Legislative Councils, effective representation of the people, and larger control over the Administration, Financial and Administrative.

(d) Extentsion of the power of Municipalities and local bodies, relaxation of official control over them.

There was a good deal of quibbling, during the following year about this resolution. The older Party tried to put their own interpretation on the main clause and laid stress on the clauses (a) to (d). Mr. Tilak's party clung to the word "Swaraj" and repudiated everything inconsistent with it. The Resolution on Boycott, as in the previous year, approved of the boycott in Bengal. During the debate, Mr. Malaviya contended that the Congress could not be committed to the view of Mr. Pal and the extension of the boycott as he described it. Mr. Malaviya hoped, that the other provinces would never be driven to the necessity of using it, but that reforms needed would be gained without it. This was the general view of moderate leaders outside Bengal. By another resolution, the Congress accorded its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and approved of giving preference to indigenous articles, even at some sacrifice. It is interesting to note

that a formal proposal for preferential treatment of home-made goods had been submitted to the Subjects' Committee of the Ahmedabad Congress as early as 1902, but, there being a difference of opinion, it had failed to pass through the Committee. Resolution 11, on National Education, urged the people to take up the question of National Education and organize a system of Education, in all its branches, suited to the requirements of the country, on national Lines, and under national control. But the usual resolution on education urging Government to do various things in connection with primary, secondary, higher and technical education was also passed at the same time, thereby making the resolution on National Education pretty nearly meaningless. It was decided to hold the Congress next year at Nagpur. It was clear to every-body, inspite of the enthusiasm created by the presence of the Grand Old Man, that the rift in the lute was a stern reality, and that a clash was inevitable between the two parties. The session of the Midnapur District Conference in 1907 in Bengal gave a foretaste of the Surat debacle. Surendra Nath thus speaks of the incident:

"The forces of disorder had been let loose, and by the authorities themselves, in a great and newly constituted province. The popular faith in constitutional methods was shaken; and young and ardent spirits, writhing under disappointment, but eager to serve their country were led into the dangerous paths of lawlessness and violence, unrestrained by the voice of their elders."

The Surat Debacle.

With the path of lawlessness and violence, the Congress had no concern. But the loss of faith in the old method of agitation, and the growing conviction that Swaraj was the birth right of an Indian, were matters of direct concern to the great National Organization. During the year 1907, there was trouble in the Punjab following upon serious riots at Rawalpindi. Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh were deported. They were, however, released just before the Congress Session. Affairs in Bengal were no more peaceful than in 1906. The departure of Lord Curzon and the advent of Lord Minto had made no change in the policy of repression. The atmosphere therefore was surcharged with electricity on the eve of the Congress. The change of venue from the extremist atmosphere of Nagpur to the comparatively peaceful environment of Surat was deliberate. It did not tend to make the extreme party more conciliatory. Then, a rumour got about that the leaders had decided to drop the four special resolutions of the

Calcutta Congress dealing with Self-Government, Boycott, Swadeshi, and National Education. There was a strong feeling amongst the nationalists of Bengal in favour of holding a separate Conference at Nagpur. Mr. Chidambaram Pillai of the Madras Presidency generously undertook to bear all costs. But Mr. Tilak was adamant. His reply to wires from Calcutta was "For Heaven's sake, no split." He therefore clearly went to Surat to convert the Congress to his views and not to break it. Did he or the Lala or Aurobindo go there with the idea of having recourse to violence ? The circumstances do not justify any such conclusion. On the other hand, it was widely believed in Gujrat that the Congress leaders had collected cudgels and had engaged a number of rowdy laskars from the city. Anyhow, if they did, better sense prevailed and hirelings were not employed. When some of the younger nationalists got excited, wielded walking sticks and threw shoes, the police were called in and the Pandal cleared. It is needless to-day to go into the rights and wrongs of the affair from the constitutional point of view, but the feeling afterwards of both parties was—"It is a good riddance." The Congress was obviously not democratic enough in its constitution to reflect the new spirit then rampant in the country. But the new spirit could afford to wait, for the future belonged to it. The bark of the Congress was for the time being in safe hands, and, during the next few years, contentedly floated about in the placid waters of constitutional agitation. The Buccaneers were destined to get hold of her again, but that is another story. In the meantime, the day after the break up of the Congress, the old leaders called a National Convention. The Committee of that Convention drew up a constitution and formulated a creed for the Indian National Congress at Allahabad in April 1908. The creed was embodied in the two articles quoted below :

"Article 1.—The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing Members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organizing the intellectual, moral. economic and industrial resources of the country.

Article 2.—Every delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress

as laid down in Article 1 of this Constitution, and his willingness to abide by this Constitution, and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended."

The constitution drawn up by the Committee was duly put up before the Congress and, after amendments and alterations, was ultimately accepted by the Bankipore Congress of 1912.

CHAPTER IV,

AFTER SURAT.

Madras Congress, 1908.

The adjourned Session of the Congress (Twenty-third) was held at Madras in December 1908. During the year, further anarchical outrages had given Lord Minto's Government ample grounds for repression. Tilak was imprisoned for a seditious article in his paper, the *Kesari*. Aurobindo was undergoing a protracted trial for treasonable conspiracy. He was ultimately released. A number of other extremist editors were imprisoned for sedition. Several newspapers and young men's volunteer organizations, known as Samitis, were suppressed. Nine men of light and leading, nationalist leaders and workers, were deported without trial. Side by side with this, the Minto-Morley Reforms Scheme was outlined to the public in order to "rally the moderates." It had its effect on the Congress. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was the President-elect at Surat. In his Surat speech, he had tried at length to convince Lord Morley that we were not "crying for the moon," and explained to the Congress why he could not take the New Party in the country seriously. In his Madras speech after justifying the course taken to preserve the continuity of the Congress after Surat, he congratulated the country on the coming Reforms. He declared "We are no longer going to be fed on illusions. Henceforth, we shall have an effective voice in directing the policy of the Government in the administration of the country." He told the Congress that it was a season of universal rejoicing. Lord Morley who had, a few months before, declared the Canadian Fur Coat unsuitable for India, was now going to give India a more suitable mantle. The Congress accepted it with gratitude. This was the key note of the 23rd Session. A resolution appealing for the reversal of the Partition of Bengal was passed. Lord Morley had already called it a "settled fact." Ambika Charan speaking on this resolution said :

"If the Partition is a settled fact, the unrest in India is also a settled fact, and it is for Lord Morley and the Government of India to decide which should be unsettled to settle the question."

A protest was made against deportations without trial. The case for the South African Indians was presented by the delegate from Johannesberg, Mr. Kidwai, in a forcible speech. This question was coming, more and more, to the front, everyday. It is interesting to note that Mr. Kidwai had been sent as a delegate to the Congress as well as to the Moslem League.

Carrying on.

The twenty-fourth session of the Congress met at Lahore. The number of delegates had fallen to 243. There was hardly any enthusiasm. The Chairman of the Reception Committee regretted, that the Congress had been attacked on all sides, that the Moslem League and the Hindu Conference had both assailed it, hence the smallness of their gathering. At the previous session, the Morley-Minto Reforms had been acclaimed with enthusiasm. At this session, the Congress protested against the Rules made under the Act which had "practically wrecked the reforms scheme." Surendra Nath, speaking on the resolution about the Act, apportioned praise and blame in a characteristic manner. He credited Morley and Minto with beneficence of purpose and a statesmanlike grasp of the situation. The responsibility of wrecking the scheme, he put on the shoulders of the bureaucracy. Bhupendra Nath moved the resolution asking for modification of the Partition of Bengal. He complained that senseless repression in East Bengal was driving thousands of lads into the camp of the extremists,filled with bitter hostility. Surendra Nath and BhupendraNath Basu were appointed as a deputation to proceed to England to lay the question of Partition before the authorities and the public of Great Britain. The South African resolution was ably moved by Mr. Gokhale. He declared that representations had produced no effect and the time had come for retaliation. Under the lead of Mr. Gandhi, the South African Indians were engaged in making a passive resistance. Mr. Gokhale apparently approved of this method. This is what he said:

"What is the passive resistance struggle? It is essentially defensive in its nature, and it fights with moral and spiritual weapons. A passive resister resists tyranny by undergoing sufferings in his own person. He pits soul force against brute force; he pits the divine in man against the brute in man; he pits sufferings against oppression, pits conscience against might, he pits faith

against injustice ; right against wrong." A substantial sum of money was collected for the South African sufferers.

The next session, the Twenty-fifth, was held at Allahabad. Sir William Wedder-burn was the President. He had specially come over from England to settle the disagreement between the two wings of national workers and between the Hindus and Mussalmans, which latter was being emphasized by the new reforms. His efforts, however, met with no success. Great stress was laid by the President on the propaganda work in England. Lord Hardinge, the new Viceroy, was to receive a deputation from the Congress. The Presient laid stress on the importance of this incident. Nothing of importance was done at this session.

Partition annulled.

The Twenty-sixth National Congress met at Calcutta. The Partition of Bengal had been annulled by the King Emperor's own lips at Delhi, a few weeks before. This was indeed a triumph for the old Congress methods, and the leaders made the most of it. The passive resistance movement in South Africa under Mr. Gandhi had borne some fruit. The Congress congratulated the passive resisters and recorded a high admiration of their unity, courage and patriotism. The prevailing note of this session was one of gratification. The next Congress was at Bankipur, in the province of Behar, a Province, where there was a happy absence of any Hindu-Moslem question. Lord Hardinge had, by his sympathy and breadth of mind, earned the respect of the Indian public and the Congress recorded its sense of horror and detestation at the cowardly attempt made on the life of this popular Viceroy. It had a mournful duty to perform in expressing its sense of profound sorrow for the death of the Father of the Congress Mr. A. O. Hume. The usual resolutions were passed by this Congress and nothing of importance was done. The attendance at this Congress had fallen to two hundred.

Rapprochement in Sight.

At the Bankipur Congress Mr. Haque, the Chairman of the Reception Committee in his address had referred to the "unfortunate position taken up by English statesmen towards Turkey." At the next Congress, the twenty-eighth Session, at Karachi, the President Nawab Syed Muhamad spoke with deep emotion of "the subversion of the Ottoman power in Europe, and the strangling of Persia." It is clear, that Turkish affairs had for the last two years been deeply affecting Musalman sentiment in India. The tremendous excitement at Cawnpore over a mosque,

to allay which the Viceroy himself had to go, showed the state of Moslem feeling. This was the last Session before the Great War and it is notable for the resolution it passed on the subject of the need for joint action for the attainment of Self-Government by the Congress and the Moslem League. The Moslem League under the guidance of Sir Ibrahim Rahimatullah had accepted the ideal of Self-Government for India and had expressed a desire for concerted action. A number of old leaders of the Congress spoke on the resolution in an enthusiastic and hopeful strain. The South African trouble was going on. Lord Hardinge had apparently been interesting himself in that cause and the Congress tendered respectful thanks to him "for his statesman-like pronouncement of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question."

In this Session, a new question came up for consideration. The Indians in Canada, mostly belonging to the Sikh Community, had sent three delegates to represent their grievances to the Congress. One of these, Sardar Nand Singh, moved Resolution VI of this Session. It related to what was known as the "Continuous Journey Clause" of the Canadian Privy Council Order. This clause forbade Indians to enter Canada, unless they had made a continuous journey from India, and they could not make a continuous journey because there was no direct boat service and the Steamship Companies refused through booking. It therefore effectively forbade the entry of any Indian into Canada and prevented Indians, already there, from bringing over their families. It was this clause which led to the chartering of the Komagata Maru and the consequent troubles. One General Swayne had explained the reason underlying the exclusion of Indians. "One of these things that make the presence of East Indians here, or in any other White Colony, politically inexpedient, is the familiarity they acquire with the whites, the instance of which is given by the speedy elimination of caste in this Province, as shown by the way all castes help each other. These men go back to India, and preach ideas of emancipation, which, if brought about, would upset the machinery of law and order. While this emancipation may be a good thing at some future date, the present time is premature for the emancipation of caste." The effusion of the gallant General amounted to this, that the whole Empire, by common agreement, should stand against Indian emancipation and that caste was to be used as a weapon against the spread of ideas of freedom. Sardar Nand Singh made a spirited protest against this spirit. There was nothing further of importance said or done at this Congress.

Congress and the War.

The next Session of the Congress, Twenty-ninth, was at Madras. The Great War had broken out four months before and India had demonstrated her loyalty to the British connection by the promptness with which prince and peasant had come forward with help. Already India had sent to one of the theatres of war in France alone, 24,000 men, which number rose to 40,000 in August 1915. The organisation of Hospital Ships and Ambulance Corps, the direct contribution of money, the help rendered every where in the work of recruiting, all this showed India's attitude towards the War. Mr. Gandhi had expressed the opinion during the South African War and he repeated it now, that when England was at War, India should not hamper her by pressing for rights, but should render readily all the help that she could. This was also the view of the majority of the Mahatma's countrymen. The few people who were engaged in a conspiracy with Germany, as was alleged in the Report of the Rowlatt Committee, were the exceptions that proved the rule. All India believed that the allies were fighting the cause of freedom. Bhupendra Nath Basu as President of the Congress at Madras, made the most of the situation. He said that while Britain and India were fighting side by side in the cause of honour, liberty and justice, the Congress could not effectively discharge its principal function, which was to act as His Majesty's Opposition. He therefore hardly dwelt in his presidential address on controversial topics, and discussion of Administrative and Legislative Measures. But he made a definite claim for Self-Government, "a joint partnership on equal terms" and "the right to carry arms, the right to bear commissions in the Army and lead our men in the cause of the Empire, the right to form volunteer corps in the defence of hearth and home." He also said "What could be more glorious both for India and England than that India strong in her men, strong in her faith, should stand side by side with England, share her troubles and her dangers and be joint defenders of their common heritage?" He called India's claim, "not a prayer, but a call in the name of the people of India." The times were indeed changed from the day at Barisal, when this same veteran leader in shame and anger had proclaimed that the destruction of the British Empire was imminent and had commenced that very day. His Excellency the Governor of Madras responded to the sentiment of loyalty by a visit to the Congress Pandal. The different resolutions all reflected the spirit of the President's address.

Mrs. Besant.

This Session was memorable for the recruit the Congress had gained, in Mrs. Annie Besant. This lady, after serving India zealously for many years in other directions, now threw herself into the political struggle with all her Celtic zeal. She was instrumental in bringing about the union between the two wings of the Congress. The ultimate pact was not arrived at till later, but already in 1914, the proposals for a compromise had reached a definite stage and were referred to a committee. Mrs. Besant and Surendra Nath, both spoke eloquently on India's claim to Self-Government. Mrs. Besant said, "India claims the right, as a Nation, to justice among the Peoples of the Empire." The understanding with the Moslem League was already within sight. The general feeling amongst the delegates in 1914 was one of elation.

Sinha and the 30th Session.

The Thirtieth National Congress, at Bombay, had for its pilot, Lord Sinha of Raipur (then Sir Satyendra Prasanna). Hindus and Mussalmans, Moderates and Extremists were all reconciled. The Great War had brought in a remarkable change in the angle of vision of the bureaucracy. No wonder, the Thirtieth Session was described by an old Congress leader as "the first Congress of the New Era, of the New India. The India of the young, of the hopeful, of the energetic." The President was not a seasoned politician. He was a lawyer, above all. Like a lawyer, he proceeded to define the word "Self-Government". Lincoln's definition "Government of the people, for the people, by the people" was adopted by him. He also explained clearly what he understood by Government. It was "the whole function of the state, Civil as well as Military, Executive as well as Legislative, Administrative as well as Judicial." He laid great stress on the nationalization of the army. The questions of enlistment and commissions in the army, universal volunteering, equality under the Arms Act were put forward as important items of reform. Speaking of the goal of India he said, "The regeneration and reconstruction of India can take place only under the guidance and control of England, and while we admit that the goal is not yet, we refuse to believe that it is so distant as to render it a mere vision of the imagination." He no doubt expressed himself as an Advocate of "gradual evolution and cautions progress," but, in one direction, he took a definite stand. On behalf of the Congress he asked the British Nation to make "an authoritative

declaration of policy" and suggested that the most appropriate opportunity for such a declaration will be the moment of the victory of England and her allies over the forces of reaction. Sir Satyendra had been in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and could, better than any other man, choose the proper time for making such a demand or request to the British people.

CHAPTER V.

1916—18.

The nineteen members' memorandum.

Lord Hardinge himself had, three months before, in a speech to a European gathering, said, "Let it be realised that great as has been England's mission in the past, she has a far more glorious task to fulfil in the future, in encouraging and guiding the Self-Development of the people. The goal to which India may attain is still distant but etc., etc." Now, after Lord Sinha's speech, the Viceroy opened a long correspondence with the Secretary of State as to how far Lord Sinha's proposal could be given effect to. Though the Government of India were willing enough at that stage to set out, in general terms, the purpose and goal of British Rule in India as desired by the President of the Congress, they could not for some time yet make up their mind about the exact form of any new reform scheme. In October, 1916, nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council presented to the new Vicroy, Lord Chelmsford, a memorandum on the post-war reforms in India. The memorandum was very much in the spirit of the Congress presidential addresses of 1914 and 1915. In 1915, the Moslem League, like the Congress, held its Session in Bombay and but for an unforeseen exhibition of tactlessness by the authorities, the union of the two great National Organizations would have been achieved there. However, the Congress and the League elected committees to formulate a common scheme of work. The two committees worked strenuously during the following year and the whole scheme was put before a joint conference of leaders at Lucknow on the eve of the next Congress Session. In 1915 Mrs. Besant started the proposal of organizing a Home Rule League for India and consulted a number of Congress leaders. A great many leaders, among them Mr. Dadabhai, approved of her Scheme. Some, like Surendranath, did not. It was agreed that the new organization was to work in harmony with the Congress movement.

Reunion and pact.

The Congress met at Lucknow under the presidency of the veteran leader, Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar of Bengal. It was a memorable Session. Moderates and Extremists had re-united. The President in his eloquent language said :

"Gentlemen, even the darkest cloud is said to have its silver lining, and in this vale of sorrow, there is hardly any misfortune which has not both a positive and a negative side. If the United Congress was buried in the debris of the old French Garden at Surat, it is re-born to-day in the Kaiser Bagh of Lucknow, the garden of the gorgeous King Wajed Ali Shah. After nearly ten years of painful separation and wanderings through the wilderness of misunderstanding and the mazes of unpleasant controversies, each widening the breach and lengthening the chain of separation, both the wings of the Indian Nationalist party have come to realise the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers and embraced each other with the gush and ardour, peculiar to reconciliation after a long separation. Blessed are the peace-makers."

Not only this, the Moslem League and the Congress had, likewise, come to an understanding and made up their minds to work jointly for the attainment of Self-Government Mrs. Besant was there preparing to carry on an intensive agitation for Home Rule. Mr. Gandhi, who had gained valuable experience by his long and strenuous struggle in South Africa and who was destined before long to take the helm of the Congress in his hands, was present. The Nineteen-Members-Memorandum had already been presented to the Viceroy. The President voiced the feelings of the Congress when he said "A mighty wave of changes is surging throughout this world and India is passing through a momentous transition. Her future is in your hands. You can either make or mar that future." It was in August 1917, that the now famous Declaration was made in Parliament.

Rowlatt Committee.

While this process of reconciliation was going on, the Government of India was under the special war enactment, Defence of India Act, sending into internment hundreds of suspects. The Rowlatt Committee was appointed in 1917 and published its report in 1918. The continued activities of pro-German and revolutionary Indians had given the Government a justification for the appointment of this Committee. But its report

ARTS
COLLEGE
FOR GIRLS
LIBRARY

and the Acts based thereon brought on infinite trouble. What happened will be described at the proper place.

The Mahatma settles in India.

After the Gandhi-Smut's agreement of 1914, the Mahatma left South Africa and transferred himself to the Ashram, founded by him in the outskirts of Ahmedabad. After some silent preparation, he started taking an active part in Indian public life. Along with Polak, his colleague in South Africa, he was present at the Congress in 1916, but his real activities commenced in 1917 and 1918 when he championed the cause of the peasant populations, first of Kaira, in the Bombay Presidency, and then at Champaran, in Behar. His method, in both cases, was Satyagraha or passive resistance, which he had carried out with conspicuous success in Africa. Gandhi's campaign in these two localities marked the beginning of a new awakening in the agricultural classes. A spirit of self-assertion grew up and soon spread among the peasants and labourers of other parts of India and brought them into close touch with the national propaganda. By the time, Gandhiji entered the arena of national politics, he commanded almost universal adoration amongst the illiterate people.

The Home Rule League.

Mrs. Besant started her Home Rule League at Madras at the beginning of 1917, with Sir Subramaniya Iyer as her colleague, and with the active co-operation of the Theosophical lodges, branches of the League were started all over India. There was immense enthusiasm and an intensive propaganda for Home Rule ensued. The movement was at first strongest in the Madras Presidency. Its success scared the Government of that Presidency, and Lord Pentland ordered her internment and that of her two associates, Messrs. Arundel and Wadia. A violent agitation was set on foot demanding their release. The prohibition of the public meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta caused great resentment. Sir Surendra Nath thus describes this situation.

"The internment of a gifted lady who was serving the mother land with unexampled devotion, set the whole country ablaze with excitement. The general feeling was, that by her internment, the Government sought to aim a deadly blow at the agitation for self-government, which she had so vigorously championed; and the utterances of provincial rulers, which had a wonderful family likeness in their tone of disparagement, if not of ridicule, of our aspirations for self-government, deepened the public impression and intensified the public agitation."

Reference will be made to Sir Subramaniya's letter at a later stage. There was a general feeling that the Congress should show its confidence in Mrs. Besant by electing her as the President of the ensuing Session. The moderate leaders, however, were strongly opposed to this. About this time, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan had come into the field of active politics. He took a leading part in securing the election of Mrs. Besant and threw himself with zeal on the side of the Home Rulers. Mrs. Besant was released in time for the Congress and occupied the Presidential chair at Bombay. She made, as was expected of her, an eloquent appeal to the country.

The Declaration of August 1917.

Mr. Montague had made his Declaration in August, and the Congress duly thanked the Government for it. By that declaration the Government promised the "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." It was announced that "substantial steps in this direction shall be taken as soon as possible." Emphasis was laid on two points, first, progress by successive stages ; second, that the Government must be the sole judges of the time and measure of each advance.

Passive Resistance Proposed.

Mrs. Besant's internment had brought to the fore-front a proposal to start passive resistance. The older leaders were strongly opposed to it. But the nationalists led by Mr. Tilak and Mr. Das equally strongly advocated it. The method itself had received the stamp of approval more than once from the Congress at a time, when that body was entirely under the control of moderate leaders. It had then reference to the movement in South Africa. Apparently it was considered inopportune to have recourse to it in India in 1917. The moderate leaders managed to have the matter referred to the Provincial Congress Committees. The declaration of Government, already referred to, and the release of Mrs. Besant allayed popular excitement and for the time being the passive resistance proposal was not revived. The activities of the Home Rulers in 1918 will come in later. During the cold weather of 1917 and 1918 Mr. Montagu was in India examining witnesses. Along with other parties, the nationalist leaders presented their view before Mr. Montague. Chittaranjan

formulated a bold demand. He asked for complete control of the purse as well as control over all services in the country. He agreed, that, for a time, the control over the Army, the Navy and the Railway might be left with Government.

Montagu and Rowlatt Reports Published.

On July 8, 1918 the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published. On the 19th of the same month the Report of the Rowlatt Committee was published. The latter Report showed in detail, how, about 1915, a number of young Bengalees had begun a revolutionary movement which has never been suppressd, and that this movement "failing to stir up trouble in India itself," was trying to secure the active sympathy and co-operation of foreign countries in engineering an armed rising. The report dealt with the methods of suppressing this movement. While the irreconciliables were to be dealt with by these special methods, the rest of India was to be conciliated and united by self-governing institutions. The spirit of the new reforms is thus outlined in the Montague Report;

"We believe profoundly that the time has now come when the sheltered existence which we have given India cannot be prolonged without damage to her national life; that we have a richer gift for her people than any that we have yet bestowed on them; that nationhood within the Empire represents something better than anything India has hitherto attained; that the placid, pathetic contempt of the masses is not the soil on which such Indian nationhood will grow, and that in deliberately disturbing it we are working for her highest good."

"Self-Government for India within the Empire is the highest aim which her people can set before themselves or which, as trustees for her, we can help her to attain. Without it, there can be no fullness of civic life, or satisfaction of the natural aspirations which fill the soul of every self-respecting man. The vision is one that may well lift men up to resolve on things that seemed impossible before."

The second part of the Report entitled, the Proposals, recommended for the Provincial Government a system of advance based on the principle of dyarchy, but left the Government of India very much where it was.

How the Report was received.

The Report was received very warmly by the moderate section of the Congress but the nationalists proclaimed it

to be wholly unsatisfactory and dis-appointing. Mrs. Besant-who was the President of the Congress during the year, in her paper New India, called the proposals "ungenerous for England to offer and unworthy for India to accept." A manifesto, issued by fifteen members of Madras, said, "It is so radically wrong alike in principle and in detail that it is impossible to modify or improve it." A Special Session of the Congress was convened in August at Bombay. It discussed the report in detail and pronounced it to be wholly unacceptable. Mr. Hassan Imam of Behar presided. He took his stand on the general principles laid down by Mr. Montagu himself, analysed the proposals with the ability of an experienced lawyer and showed how the proposals fell far short of the principles and how they expressed distrust of the people of India. He criticized the introduction of dyarchy in the Provincial Administration, objected to the appointment of the Ministers by the Governor and laid stress on the fact that "the responsibilities of administering Transferred Subjects will be the Ministers', while the power of deciding what part of the revenue shall be allotted for the discharge of those responsibilities will be retained in official hands."

The moderates practically seceded from the congress after its special Session and held a separate conference of their own in November.

The Congress asserts itself.

By the time the Congress held its annual December sitting, the War had come to a close. The President, Pandit Malaviya, spoke of the momentous changes that were taking place all over the world. He referred to the part India had taken in the War and said, "that India readily identified herself with the cause which England had taken up, because it was the cause of righteousness and liberty." He enumerated the famous fourteen points of President Wilson and quoted what various British Statesmen had said of India's service in the War, and of her political future. He said "How far these principles of autonomy or Self-Determination are to be applied to India, that is the question for consideration. We are happy to find that the Government of Britain and France have already decided to give effect to the proposals in the case of Syria and Mesopotamia. This has strengthened our hope that they will be extended to India also. * * * * * * This Representative Congress of the people of India will determine and declare what, in its opinion, should be the measure of reform, which should be introduced into the country. Let the British Government give effect to the principle of Self-

Determination in India by accepting the proposals so put forward." Referring to the activities of the revolutionaries, disclosed by the Rowlatt Committee's Report, Panditji said that the Committee themselves admit that these movements had all been successfully encountered with the support of Indian Loyalty. The Montagu—Chelmsford Report had also said that this fact alone was enough to silence the calumniators of India. The Twenty-third Congress re-affirmed the Special Congress resolutions demanding Self-Government, making a declaration of India's rights, and asking for commissions in the army. The resolution on Self-Determination, moved by Mrs. Besant ran as follows :—

"In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British Statesmen, that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of Self-Government should be applied to all progressive Nations, be it restated that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive Nations to whom the principle of Self-Determination should be applied."

"That in the practical application of the principle in India the first step should be the removal of all hinderances to free discussion and therefore, the immediate repeal of laws, regulations and ordinances restricting the free discussion of political questions, whether in the press, private or public meetings or otherwise, so that the legitimate aspirations and opinions of all residents in India may be fearlessly expressed, and further the abolition of the laws, regulations and ordinances which confer on the Executive the power to arrest, detain, intern, extern or imprison any British subject in India outside the processes of the ordinary civil or criminal law, and the assimilation of the law of sedition to that of England."

Mr. B. C. Pal moved the resolution about the Rowlatt Report.

"That this Congress views with alarm the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee which, if given effect to, will interfere with the fundamental rights of the Indian people, impede the healthy growth of public opinion, and would also prejudicially affect the successful working of the Constitutional Reforms."

The Moderates Secede.

The two moderate leaders Mr. Srinivas Sastri and Mr. Narasinha Sarma attended this Session and tried to get the resolution on the reforms amended. The amendments sought to delete the words "disappointing and unsatisfactory" and to fix no time limit for the Government to establish complete provincial autonomy. The amendments were lost, even though Mr. Sastri pleaded that he was speaking on behalf of the whole moderate party. Messrs.

Sastri and Sarma did not continue in the Congress long. That body became wholly nationalist and the moderates have ever since been holding a separate conference every year. Their attitude towards Government and towards the extreme left is summed up by Sir Surendra Nath in the following words.

"It is not we who had changed; there has been a fundamental change in the policy and the aims and aspirations of the Government. We welcomed it; we modified our attitude towards the Government, and we co-operated with it for the attainment of Self-Government. To oppose where we should co-operate would be height of unpatriotism; it would be something worse, it would be treason against the motherland * * * . . * We had to accept this evolutionary movement, culminating, in due time, in full-fledged Responsible Government, or follow the dubious paths of a revolutionary programme with its endless risk and uncertain triumphs."

Dr. Subramaniya's letter.

During the incarceration of Mrs. Besant, Sir Subramaniya Iyer as President of the Home Rule League wrote on 24-6-17 his famous letter to President Wilson of the U. S. A. in which, after referring to the resolution of the Lucknow Congress relating to Self-Government, he urged an immediate promise of Home Rule and requested President Wilson to use his influence with England to that end. He said that an autonomous India would be able to place in the field at least five millions of soldiers in three months' time. He mentioned the internment of Mrs. Besant and described how India was having a "full measure of misrule and oppression."

This letter led to a debate in Parliament. The Secretary of State for India stigmatized the letter as "disgraceful and improper," but informed the House that "In view of Sir Subramaniya Iyer's age, health, and past services, the Government of India do not propose to take any further action, but have warned him not to do it again." In view of the "contemptuous terms" in which he had been referred to by a responsible minister of the Crown, Sir Subramaniya Iyer renounced his titles and expressed his readiness to forfeit his pension, if necessary. The letter to President Wilson was circulated by the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing (U. S. A.) to the members of the Legislature of that country. The American Press strongly criticized the British Government. This affair made a profound impression in India, but was gradually forgotten after Mrs. Besant's release and in the midst of the excitement of Mr. Montagu's visit to India. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who had not as yet under-

gone the sobering influence of Downing Street, wrote in September 1918: "India now requires robust, independent thought and action. When Sir Subramaniya Iyer flung back his Knighthood at the feet of the Government in consequence of the attack made upon him by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, he did a fine thing. It is that spirit which has to awaken India from her subordinate and cringing attitude and spirit, and India sadly needs such an awakening."

The Home Rule League in 1918.

The Home Rule organization had developed wonderfully in 1918. The Report of the year 1917-18 gave the number on the Roll as 3,40,000, most of whom were from the Bombay Presidency. The League was carrying on an extensive educative propaganda by holding political meetings and publishing pamphlets. Mr. Tilak was taking a prominent part. Mr. Kelkar of Poona was Secretary. The League sent Mr. Baptista of Bombay to England where, by an incessant campaign, he ultimately induced the Labour Party to accord its support to the grant of Home Rule to India. Two other deputations were sent out in 1918. The first was sent back from Gibraltar by Government and the second including Mr. Tilak was stopped at Colombo.

CHAPTER VI.

SATYAGRAHA AND AMRITSAR

European Agitation.

The year 1919 was a momentous one in the recent history of the country. At the commencement of the year the Southborough Committee and the Feetham Committee were going into the various questions connected with the reforms. But the services and the non-official Europeans had set on foot an organized opposition to the reform proposals. They were being helped by the Anglo-Indian Press of this country and the Diehard Press in England. The movement of the non-official Europeans was open and frank. But the opposition of the services, though equally well-organized, was secret and behind the back of the Indian people. The "Search Light" of Behar and the "New India" of Madras somehow got hold of and published the secret circulars in their respective provinces. Mr. Montagu had in his Report sought to impress on India the loyalty of the services to the proposed reforms. Their real attitude, as disclosed now, though

natural enough came as a shock to the Indian public. The Viceroy in a speech in the Imperial Council tried to allay the fears of the Europeans, official and non-official, in India. The Indian public were greatly excited over this. Protest meetings were held and a vigorous agitation carried on in the newspapers. It was urged that India had been tricked. The public expected that there would be an attempt to whittle down the proposed reforms. In fact, the famous despatch of the Government of India dated 5-3-19 did amount to a climb down on various points. The staunch liberalism of Mr. Montagu restored the balance to some extent, but, in the meantime serious events were happening in India.

Rowlatt Bills.

I have already referred to the Viceroy's speech in the Imperial Council and the popular apprehension it caused. In the same speech, His Excellency firmly declared his determination to go through the repressive enactments then on the anvil, despite all opposition. The two bills based on the Rowlatt Report were introduced the same day. All the Indian members of the Council opposed them. Colossal protest meetings were held all over the country. Despite all opposition, the measure was passed into law by an official majority on the 18th of March. Several members of the Council resigned by way of protest. Mr. Jinnah wrote a letter to the Viceroy in tendering his resignation. That letter sums up the non-official feeling thus; "The passing of the Rowlatt Bill by the Government of India and the assent given to it by your Excellency, as Governor General, against the will of the people, has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British Justice * * * * *. Neither the unanimous opinion of the non-official Indian members, nor the entire public opinion and feeling outside has met with the least respect * * By passing this Bill Your Excellency's Government have actively negatived every argument they advanced but a year ago when they appealed to India for help at the War Conference and have ruthlessly trampled upon the principles for which Great Britain avowedly fought the war."

Satyagraha.

On the 1st of March Mahatma Gandhi issued his famous Satyagraha manifesto. The Satyagraha vow ran as follows:—

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive

of the elementary rights of individuals, on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey those laws and such other laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow the truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

The vow was at once taken by all the Home Rulers of Bombay and within a fortnight Satyagraha spread all over the country, even into remote villages. On the 23rd of March, Gandhiji issued the Hartal manifesto fixing the 6th of April as a day devoted to fasting, prayer and penance. But before that day there was trouble at Delhi.

Violence.

That City had fixed the 30th of March as a day of humiliation and prayer. Picketting at the Railway Station led to the arrest of two young men. The mob insisted on their release and became violent. The police and the military opened fire here and near the Chandni Chowk and some people were killed. Swami Sraddhananda quieted the excited mob, formed a procession and took them to the place of meeting. About 40,000 attended the meeting. They had become calm and resolved to suffer all violence in silence, like true Satyagrahees. There were two demonstrations of a mournful nature on the funeral day, the 31st of March and on the day of prayer at the Jumma Masjid on the 4th of April. On the 6th of April, as ordered by Gandhiji, the Great Hartal was observed all over India. Non-violence was strictly observed on that day and there was no disturbance any where. On the 7th of April the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in his Council speech expressed strong feeling against certain individuals at Lahore and Amritsar who were rousing public feeling against the Government. He told the Council that the Punjab was loyal to the core and said that the agitators "have a day of reckoning in store for them." On the 8th of April the Mahatma left Bombay for Delhi on a mission of peace. But he was stopped on the way and sent back. On the 9th of April Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kichlew of Amritsar who had invited the Mahatma to the Punjab to organize Satyagraha were deported. This led to serious rioting in the City of Amritsar. Several banks were burned down and looted. Many Europeans were murdered or assaulted; several Government buildings were demolished. The military occupied the town the next day. What happened at Amritsar and all over the Punjab

under the military regime, is very well-known to every body. It is unnecessary to go into those gruesome details. The news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi caused extensive rioting at Ahmedabad and the neighbouring town of Viramgam. Mr. Gandhi himself co-operated with the officials and pacified the people of these places. The Punjab was in the grip of Martial Law for several weeks. The Lieutenant-Governor's threatened "day of reckoning" had full play. Almost all the nationalist leaders were sentenced to death or to transportation for life, with forfeiture of property. The All India Congress Committee held an emergency meeting on the 20th of April and sent a long cable to the Premier.

India speaks through her Poet.

The poet Rabindra Nath who had not been connected with political movements for a long time now, gave vent to current feeling in his famous letter to the Viceroy, while resigning his title of Knighthood.

"Your Excellency,—The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has with a rude shock revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishment inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilised Governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions, recent and remote, considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population disarmed and resourceless by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for the destruction of human lives.

We must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less, moral justification. The accounts of the insults and the sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence, reaching every corner of India and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers, possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine salutary lessons.

This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings without receiving the least check from the same authority, relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers.

Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government which could so easily afford to be magnanimous

as befitting its physical strength and moral traditions, the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen surprised into a dumb anguish of terror.

The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation and, I for my part, wish to stand shorn of all special distinction by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings, and these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask Your Excellency, with due deference and regret, to release me of my title of Knighthood which I had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

Yours faithfully,

Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Repressive Policy and the alleged Reason.

During these days of excitement various newspapers were proceeded against under the Press Act of 1910 and Mr. Horniman of the Bombay Chronicle, a Satyagrahee and a follower of Gandhi, was deported. Soon after, there was a change of Governorship in the Punjab. The new Governor Sir Edward Maclagan tried his best to mitigate the horrors, perpetrated by his predecessor. On the 3rd of September, the Viceroy, while opening the Council at Simla, made a speech where, referring to the Rowlatt Bill, he said, "No Government could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essential, on account of any threat of agitation. However, there were those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat, and as a consequence the deplorable events occurred." There was no mention anywhere of the hundreds of innocent lives lost in Jallianwala Bagh. An Indemnity Act was passed on the 24th of September to exonerate the officers who had ruled the Punjab with a rod of iron during the Martial Law period, and this exoneration was found necessary before the Hunter Committee even started enquiry. Before that Committee the defence of the official culprits was threatened rebellion. But the cross-examination of witness after witness made it perfectly clear that the Punjab which the Governor had found loyal to the core on the 7th, did not go into rebellion within a week's time. Leaving the bombastic talk of Sir Michael on one side, the Punjab was no more, or no less,

the rest of India in 1919. No one can deny that there was considerable discontent in that province caused by the recruitment of soldiers under high pressure. After the War agrarian troubles and scarcity were pressing heavily on the people. Moreover, being near the frontier the Punjab lay open to emissaries from outside India, who took full advantage of the situation. This being the state of things, the externment of the Mahatma and the internment of the two popular leaders naturally brought about an outburst of violence. There was nothing whatever to show that anybody had planned rebellion in the Punjab. The successor of Sir Michael did not find very much difficulty in pacifying the province.

The Amritsar Congress.

The Congress of 1919 met at Amritsar, though not without the Punjab Government raising many objections. Pandit Motilal was in the chair. The atmosphere was one of deep depression. Pandit Motilal thus voiced the prevailing feeling.

"We must also do reverence to the sacred memory of the dead who were killed in Amritsar and elsewhere in the Punjab, and to the living who were put to indignities worse even than death and suffered the most shameful barbarities. No monument of marble or bronze is needed to consecrate their memory. Our speeches here will be forgotten, the resolutions you pass may in the future have interest only for the historian, but India will never forget the sacrifice and the sufferings of these children of hers.

"But through the surrounding gloom has come a ray of bright sunshine which has cheered up many a suffering individual and family in India. His Majesty the King Emperor has, on the eve of this great meeting, been graciously pleased to send out to us a message of His Royal clemency, to be exercised by the Viceroy in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, to all political offenders suffering imprisonment or restriction on their liberty in the gracious words of the proclamation. It is the sentiments of affection and devotion with which His Majesty and his predecessors have been animated that have consoled us in our misfortunes. It is for us, fellow delegates, on our own behalf and on behalf of the people of India whom we represent, to convey our sincere homage to His Majesty and our humble appreciation of His Royal benevolence."

The Congress thanks Mr. Montagu and resolves to work the Reforms.

It is necessary to make a digression at this stage. Mr. Montagu introduced his Bill early in 1919. A joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament was appointed in June to examine its provisions

and take evidence. Deputations were sent by various parties to England for propaganda work and to give evidence before this Committee. The moderates sent their deputation headed by Surendra Nath. The Congress was represented by Mr. V. J. Patel and others. The Home Rule League had split into two sections. Mr. Tilak represented his section, Mrs. Besant the other. The Moslem League was represented by Messrs. Jinnah, Bhurgri and Yakub Hussain. The Europeans sent their own deputation. Even Mrs. Naidu, a subsequent President of the Congress, was there to represent the interests of women. The Bill went through both Houses and received Royal Assent on the 23rd of December. Thereupon was issued the Royal Proclamation referred to by Pandit Motilal. Moreover a Committee headed by Lord Hunter had been appointed to investigate into the Punjab atrocities. There was reason to hope that some justice would be done, sooner or later. The spirit of His Majesty's gracious Proclamation must have pervaded the Congress Session; otherwise it is difficult to explain the resolution that was passed ultimately at Mr. Gandhi's instance on the Montagu Reforms.

Originally the resolution as it stood was :—

"That this Congress reiterates its declaration of the last year, that India is fit for full responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made.

"That this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress regarding the constitutional reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing.

"That this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of Self-Determination."

Mr. C. R. Das moved this resolution. Mr. Tilak, with a strong following was there at his back. Mr. Gandhi's amendment sought to delete the word 'disappointing' at the end and to add after Clause (c) "Pending such introduction, this Congress begs loyally to respond to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation namely, 'let the new era being with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose,' and trusts that both the authorities and the people will co-operate so to work the reforms as to secure early establishment of full Responsible Government. And this Congress offers its warmest thanks to the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with this." Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya supported Mr. Gandhi. There was, however, a compromise and the following paragraph was added to Mr. Das's original resolution ;

"This Congress trusts that so far as may be possible they will work the reforms so as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government and this Congress offers its thanks to the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with the reforms."

This was the resolution passed. Mrs. Besant had also proposed an amendment which completely ran counter to what she had said a year ago. That amendment was lost, and as was to be expected, only a handful voted in Mrs. Besant's favour. There were resolutions dealing with affairs in the Punjab, one on the Declaration of Rights and one on the Turkish question. I give this last resolution in extenso in view of the events of 1920.

"That this Congress respectfully protests against the hostile attitude of some of the British Ministers towards the Turkish and Khilafat questions as disclosed by their utterances and most earnestly appeals to and urges upon His Majesty's Government to settle the Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of Indian Mussalmans and the solemn pledge of the Prime-Minister, without which there will be no content among the people of India."

CHAPTER VII

NON-CO-OPERATION.

The Khilafat and the Punjab grievances merge in 1920.

This year is famous for the adoption of the Non-co-operation movement by the Congress. In December, 1919, Mr. Gandhi and the Congress were, as has been said already, in favour of giving the new reforms a trial. But circumstances intervened which completely changed the attitude of the country. As a result of the Royal amnesty, Mr. Muhamad Ali and his brother Shaukat Ali were released. They promptly took up the Khilafat agitation with fervour and carried on such an intensive campaign that the Khilafat question became for some time the prominent question in Indian politics. Mr. Gandhi and several Hindu leaders had been taking a deep interest in the question and the Khilafat Conference of November 1919 placed on record its profound gratitude to the Hindu leaders. There was very strong feeling amongst the Mussalmans in India on the integrity of Turkey and the safety and integrity of the Holy Places of Islam. In 1920, the terms of Turkish Treaty were being discussed. The Ali Brothers associated with themselves right from the beginning of their campaign some of the released Punjab leaders. They were given an enthusiastic reception in Delhi early in January by a crowd estimated at 2,00,000.

Their subsequent tour over Northern India was like a triumphal procession. The reception at Calcutta of Mr. Shaukat Ali and the Punjab leaders on the 22nd of February surpassed all previous demonstrations in enthusiasm and ardour. A deputation had waited on the Viceroy in January in connection with the Khilafat question after the All India Khilafat Conference at Bombay. Meetings were held all over India in February and March. In March, a Muhamedan deputation, including Mr. Mahamad Ali, was in England, and had interviews with Mr. Montagu and Mr. Lloyd George. The replies were everywhere disappointing. A strenuous agitation in India continued. At the Delhi meeting on 5-3-20 the President Mr. Kidwai declared, that things had gone so far that nothing remained for them, but to take up Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation. A Committee was appointed to examine Gandhi's scheme. On the 19th of March there was an all India Hartal observed by Hindus and Mussalmans throughout the country. In April, the anniversary of the Satyagraha of 1919 was observed all over India. About this time the Congress Sub-Committee's Report on the Punjab atrocities was published and caused great resentment against Government. Meetings were held everywhere to express this feeling in May. The publication of the terms of the Turkish peace was followed by an indignant outburst of Moslem feeling throughout the land. The Hunter Committee's Report along with the Minority Report signed by Messrs. Setalwad and Jagatnarayan was published about this time, and added but fuel to the fire. The demonstrative sympathy shown by English people, both in this country and in England, towards the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the presentation of a purse of 3,00,000 to the gallant General of Jallianwala Bagh exasperated Indian feeling beyond measure. By the end of May, the Khilafat movement of the Ali Brothers merged into the Non-co-operation movement of Mr. Gandhi. On the 30th of May, at a meeting of the All India Congress Committee, Mr. Gandhi explained the details of his scheme. There was great difference of opinion and it was decided to call a special Session of the Congress in September. Soon after this, a joint Hindu-Moslem Conference at Allahabad unanimously adopted non-co-operation and decided that it was to come into force after a month's notice to the Viceroy. It should be mentioned here, that even moderate leaders like Surendra Nath and Watcha had condemned the majority Report of the Hunter Committee. The Labour Conference in England and the British Congress Committee likewise expressed very strong views regarding the Hunter Report. The 1st of August was observed as a general

Hartal day. The same day saw the passing away of the veteran nationalist Lokamanya Tilak. Hindus and Mussalmans joined everywhere to show honour to his memory. Mr. Gandhi meanwhile was going about explaining the principle of non-co-operation and preparing the country for the Special Congress.

The Special Congress lays down a Programme.

That Session was held at Calcutta under the Presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai, who had recently returned to the country after ten years of propaganda work in America. In burning language he told the story of the Punjab sufferings and protested against the Turkish Treaty which had trampled upon the tenderest susceptibilities of the Indian Musalmans. One paragraph from his speech is quoted below :

"They say that every cloud has its silver lining. To me it looks as if the Punjab tragedy has a golden hue, with the memory of the Amritsar martyrs, with the pictures of Ratan Devi, Madan Mohan and Khusi Ram engraved on our hearts, with the recollection of the dying Muslim urchin, who invoked the "Hindu Musalman ki jai" with his last breath. With the example of the sufferers of the Martial Law, we will march on to our goal of national unity and national freedom, with hope and confidence."

A resolution was passed to record the nation's sorrow at the death of Mr. Tilak. Another resolution dealt with the Punjab affairs but the principal resolution was the N. C. O. resolution of Mr. Gandhi. The debate on it lasted for three days in the Subjects Committee. Mr. Gandhi, however, took a very strong attitude from the beginning and stood by his resolution firm as a rock. Neither appeals nor entreaties, nor threats moved him an inch. Here again Mr. C. R. Das was on the side opposed to Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal by his amendment wanted to give some more time to the Government to redress the nation's grievances, before the Congress adopted Non-co-operation. He had the support of such staunch fighters as Malaviya, Jinnah, Das and others, but the original motion was adopted by a great majority. Mrs. Besant held up, as she had done at Amritsar, the charm of the Reforms and denounced Non-co-operation in strong terms. She opposed both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Pal. The resolution, which the Congress adopted after such keen discussion, was, in brief, that "in view of the fact that in the matter of the Khilafat, the Indian and Imperial Governments had signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans in India, that the Prime Minister had deliberately broken his pledged word, and, further, in view

of the fact that in the matter of the events of April, 1919, both the said Governments had grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab, punish efficers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and had exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer and that the debate in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, the Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the aforementioned wrongs, and the only effectual means to indicate national honour and to prevent similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya."

The Congress further resolved that there was no other course left open to the people of India than to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive Non-violent Non-co-operation, until the said wrongs were righted and Swarajya established. The Congress accordingly advised: (*a*) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies, (*b*) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars, etc., (*c*) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, owned, aided or controlled by Government, and the establishment of national schools and colleges in their place, (*d*) gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts for the settlement of private disputes, (*e*) refusal on the part of military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotomia, (*f*) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature from the reformed councils and refusal on the part of voters to vote for any candidate, and (*g*) boycott of foreign goods. The Congress also advised the adoption of Swadeshi regarding piecegoods on a vast scale and, to meet the requirements of the nation, which could not be met by Indian mills alone, it advised manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of millions of weavers who had abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

The Nagpur Congress.

With the authority of the Congress at their back Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers now carried on the N. C. O. campaign with great vigour all over the country. During October and November, there was a great upheaval of students at various educational centres such as Aligarh, Lahore, Benares and Amritsar. The Congress of the year met at Nagpur. Mr. Das had gone there

with a strong following to oppose the ratification of the N. C. O. resolution of the Special Congress, but, at Nagpur, Mr. Gandhi completely won over Chitta Ranjan to his own way of thinking. Mr. Das's biographer says that at Calcutta," on the acceptance of the Non-co-operation resolution by the Congress, Chitta Ranjan and some of his Bengalee friends were thinking of seceding from that body. At Nagpur, he entered into a secret pact with Mr. Gandhi by which each promised the other freedom of propaganda in his own sphere, for the future." Whether there was a pact or not, there was no opposition to the N. C. O. resolution, and it was Mr. Das who moved that resolution. The full text of this important resolution is given below :—

"Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country and

"Whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj, and whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last Special Session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recongition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more especially in reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab :

"Now the Congress while reaffirming the resolution on Non-violent Non-co-operation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee, and that in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf :

"(*a*) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children, and not the children themselves, under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by the Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools :

"(*b*) by calling upon students of 16 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which

are dominated by a system of Government which the nation has solemnly resolved, to bring to an end and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the Non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in national institutions;

"(*c*) by calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government affiliated or aided schools and Municipalities and Local Boards to help to nationalise them;

"(*d*) by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;

"(*e*) in order to make India economically independent and self-contained, by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee;

"(*f*) and generally, inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of Non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement;

"(*g*) by organizing a committee in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of Non-co-operation;

"(*h*) by organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National service; and

"(*i*) by making effective steps to raise a national fund to be called The All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and Non-co-operation in general.

"This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of Non-co-operation, especially with regard to the boycott of Councils by the voters and claims in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, that the new Councils do not represent the country

and trusts that those, who have allowed themselves to be elected inspite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way to resign their seats in the Council and that if they retain their seats inspite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking any political service from such Councillors.

"The Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the police and the soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and, by courteous and considerable behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people.

"And the Congress appeals to all people in Government employment, pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from any active part therein and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

"This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on Non-violence being the integral part of the Non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that "Non-violence in word and deed is as essential between people themselves as in respect of the Government and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a spirit of democracy but actually retards the enforcement if necessary, of the other stages of Non-co-operation.

"Finally in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and Swarajya established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and Non-co-operation with the Government, and inasmuchas the movement of Non-co-operation can only succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, wherever they may be existing, and to make a special effort to rid Hindusim of the reproach of untouchability, and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing

desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes."

This Congress under the presidentship of Mr. Vijiaraghava Chariar altered the Congress creed and drew up a new constitution. The creed as altered ran: "The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." The alteration amounted to the substitution of the words "Legitimate and Peaceful" for "Constitutional."

CHAPTER VIII.

The Congress under the Mahatma's lead.

Idealism—Ahimsa and Swaraj.

Mr. Gandhi's propaganda of non-violence at a very critical time saved India from an orgy of blood-shed. No one else could have done it. Those who are for peace and order have never adequately expressed gratitude to him. There can be no mistake about the Mahatma's attitude towards violence. In 1919, at the Congress, he had moved the resolution condemning excesses of the mob during that year. It required considerable moral courage to do that. Two years later, he dropped his whole programme because of a terrible outrage by the mob. The year 1920 had not been marked by any exhibition of violence worth the name. The next period saw plenty of it. But it was inspite of the teachings of the great apostle of "Ahimsa" and not because of them. He never failed to express his abhorrence of violence.

The Congress creed as laid down at Nagpur gave a new meaning to the word "Swaraj." It was not the Swaraj of Dadabhai nor was it the Swaraj of Aurobindo. Nor was it the Swaraj of the anarchist and the revolutionary. It was as Mr. Das's biographer puts it "rather a psychological or a subjective perception than a mere political objective." Whether India understood the new creed or not, she took up the N. C. O. programme with an unbounded enthusiasm believing sincerely that the millenium was at hand. There was something novel and inspiring in the cries of "Hindu-Musulman Ki Jai" that rent the skies.

As Interpreted by the Youth and the Proletariat.

Early in the year agrarian disturbances on a large scale broke out in the U. P. They were suppressed by the police and the military. Several people were killed and wounded and hundreds marched off to prison. The N. C. O. movement now spread to the

students of Bengal and well-nigh threatened the collapse of the educational institutions of Calcutta. Mr. Das gave up his profession and henceforth devoted himself wholly to his country's work. Pandit Nehru and other eminent men followed suit. The Akali movement in the Punjab following on the massacre of 150 Akali Sikhs by the Mohunt at Nankana grew daily in volume and threatened trouble. The N. C. O. movement in the C. P. concentrated on the picketting of liquor shops. This led to a riot and the consequent use of firearms by the police at Nagpur. The Authorities took preventive measures under Sec. 144 of the Procedure Code. Similar measures were taken in several towns in Bengal. In March there was further rioting in the U. P. and at Nagpur with usual consequences. It was clear to the Congress leaders that the more ardent spirits in the country were getting out of hand and that there was a call for more vigorous action. The Moslem Divines met at Bareilly and passed impatient resolutions. A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was hastily called to consider the situation. The first resolution passed was to the effect that (*a*) one crore of rupees was to be collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund by the end of June; (*b*) one crore of members was to be enlisted by that date; (*c*) 20 lacs of Charkas were to be introduced into villages. A second resolution pronounced that the various Government orders passed in different provinces were illegal, and affirmed that the country had responded in a wonderful manner in the face of grave provocation, to the principle of non-violence. It declared that the country was not yet ready for Civil Disobedience and advised how to prepare for it. After the meeting the leaders dispersed to their respective provinces to take up the work laid down.

This period was characterised by extensive industrial strikes in Bengal, Behar and Assam, strikes on the railways, in the steamer services, in coal mines, in the mills and in the tea estates. Almost everywhere the employers were Europeans. The strikers' cry was everywhere "Gandhi Maharaj Ki Jai." Repression and violence followed each other in a vicious circle. For a time it looked as if the Siren call from across the hills had reached the proletariat in India. Mob violence broke out in many places during the year the most notable being the Mopla rising, the Malegaon riots and the massacre at Chauri-Chaura. It was obvious that the masses did not understand the programme of non-violence.

Government tackle the Khilafat movement.

Lord Reading came as Viceroy in April. At the instance of Pandit Malaviya Mr. Gandhi went and saw him. Some there were

who fondly hoped that the bureaucracy was about to lower its colours at last. But nothing resulted from the interview beyond a purchase of immunity for the Ali brothers, at a time when immature boys and ignorant coolies and peasants were facing the jail in thousands under the mandate of the Congress. The Ali brothers, however, were destined to face a criminal court before long. The idea was gaining ground in India that Britain was helping the Greeks against Angora and it gave a serious turn to the Khilafat agitation. A meeting of Moslem Divines issued a Fatwa that no Moslem could serve a Government which was at war with his co-religionists, and Moslems were urged to resign from the Police and the Army. The Karachi Khilafat conference passed a resolution to the same effect. This followed by the Mopla rising in Malabar greatly excited Moslem feeling. The Government thought that the time had come to take action. The Ali brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and three others who had taken a prominent part at the Khilafat conference were tried and sent to prison for sedition. Janab Yakub Hassan, the Madras leader, was also imprisoned for sedition. There was a general move on the part of the authorities to suppress Moslem agitation and several Moslems were incarcerated.

Government tackle the National Volunteers.

On the 4th of November the A. I. C. C. at Mr. Gandhi's instance passed a resolution authorising every province on its own responsibility to undertake Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The same month H. R. H. the Prince arrived in India. An all India Hartal was successfully carried out except that in Bombay there was a serious riot. The Mahatma was shocked at the doings of the Bombay rioters in the name of N. C. O., and in a press note said that all hopes of a successful Mass Civil Disobedience were shattered by these riots. He observed a fast for 5 days by way of penance. The Government in response to the Hartal started an intensive campaign against the N. C. O. movement. An order of the Bengal Government declaring N. C. O. volunteers' Organisations illegal was followed by similar orders in the U. P., Punjab and Assam. The leaders of the people accepted the challenge and by the time the Congress met, over 20,000 people were imprisoned including prominent leaders like Das and Nehru. The Congress gained two notable converts about this time. Mr. Srinivas Iyenger once Advocate-General, at that time a moderate leader, resigned his seat in the Council and joined the Congress in protest of Govern-

ment repression. Pandit Malaviya signed the creed a few weeks later.

The Congress accepts the Challenge.

The Congress met at Ahmedabad. Mr. C. R. Das, the President-elect, had been arrested on the eve of his departure from Calcutta and the Hakim Saheb from Delhi took his place. After the latter had made a short speech, Mr. Das's presidential address was read to the assembly. That address criticised the Government of India Act, and discussed how, armed resistance being out of the question, co-operation with Government amounting at best to peace with dishonour, the only course left to the people was N. C. O. It explained what the real import of N. C. O. was. By cogent reasoning the President showed how the Government orders against volunteer organisations were illegal.

The main provisions of Mr. Gandhi's resolution were (1) In view of the great advance the country had made in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, in view of the rapid progress made towards Swaraj and in view of the damaged prestige of Government, that had resulted from the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation the N. C. O. resolutions of Calcutta and Nagpur were confirmed. (2) In view of the threats uttered by the Viceroy in his recent speech and in view of the violently repressive policy of the Government the Congress suspended all other activities and appealed to all over 18 years in age to offer themselves quietly for arrest by joining the National Volunteer Organisations.

The volunteer pledge insisted on non-violence in thought, word and act, on belief in the unity of all communities, on acceptance of Swadeshi and Khaddar, on faith in the removal of untouchability and on the readiness to suffer everything for religion and country without resentment. (3) Civil Disobedience, individual and mass, was recommended. The Working Committee and Provincial Congress Committees were ordered to issue instructions from time to time. Mahatma Gandhi was invested with full executive powers. An overwhelming majority passed this resolution. There were various other resolutions passed too.

It was at this Congress that the Independence resolution was moved for the first time. M. Hasrat Mohani proposed that the Congress creed be changed as follows :—"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj or complete independence free from all foreign control by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." Mr. Gandhi spoke against it and it was lost.

CHAPTER IX.

The Triumph of the Bureaucracy.

Bardoli prepares for Civil Disobedience.

The Mahatma's faith in the Civil Disobedience programme had received its first check in the Bombay riots. But he gradually persuaded himself that it was but a passing frenzy. On the 26th of January, 1922 he left his Styagraha Asram for Bardoli where he settled down to lead the No-Tax campaign in person On the 30th of January he assembled a conference of the people of the Taluka. Mr. Vithalbhai Patel explained to the assembled cultivators the nature of the campaign and the possible consequences. It was agreed that the Taluka was to begin Mass Civil Disobedience if the Round Table Conference did not come off. This had reference to the efforts of Pandit Malaviya made about this time to bring peace into the land. It ended in a *fiasco*. The Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. met next day at Surat, congratulated Bardoli and advised the rest of India to assist Bardoli by refraining from Civil Disobedience elsewhere. This advice was necessary, as preparations were being made in many places-notably at Guntur in the Madras Presidency, to launch a No-Tax campaign. On the 4th of February, Mr. Gandhi intimated to Government his intention to lead a movement of Civil Disobedience in Bardoli.

The Leader cries Halt.

Then came the dreadful tragedy at Chauri-Chaura, that, for good or for evil, put an end to the Mahatma's programme. He wrote thus in Young India :—

"God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non-violent atmosphere which and which alone can justify Mass Disobedience..... He warned me in 1919 when the Rowlatt Act agitation was started. Ahmedabad, Viramgam and Kheda erred, Amritsar and Kasur erred. I retraced my steps The next time it was through the events of Bombay that God gave me terrific warning..... I announced my intention to stop the Mass Civil Disobedience which was to be immediately started in Bardoli..... But the bitterest humiliation was still to come. Madras did give me the warning, but I heeded it not. But God spoke clearly

through Chauri-Chaura..... The tragedy at Chauri-Chaura is really the index finger. It shows the way India may easily go if drastic precaution be not taken. If we are not to evolve violence out of non-violence, it is quite clear that we must hastily retrace our steps and re-establish an atmosphere of peace, re-arrange our programme and not think of starting Mass Civil Disobedience until we are sure of peace being retained in spite of Mass Civil Disobedience and in spite of Government precaution."

The Followers are restive.

Mr. Gandhi expressed his desire that the Congress should concentrate on spinning, communal unity and social service, and suspend all other activities. But this was not the view of the majority of his followers. The A. I. C. C. met at Delhi a few days later. It did not want any abandonment of the N. C. O. programme or of Mass Civil Disobedience, but said that a suitable atmosphere of non-violence should be created by concentrating on the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee. Picketting was authorised against foreign cloth as much as against liquor. Individual Civil Disobedience was permitted.

This was not the Mahatma's own view or that of his immediate followers, and these resolutions were passed mainly under pressure from the leaders of the Punjab, Bengal and Maharashtra. He made this amply clear in his message immediately after his return from Delhi. He said :—

"But I am a sadder and I hope a wiser man to-day. I see that our non-violence is skin-deep..... Co-operation with the Government is as much a weakness and a sin as alliance with the suspended violence..... The constructive programme has been framed. It will steady and calm us. It will wake our organising spirit. It will make us industrious, it will render us fit for Swaraj, it will cool our blood."

The N. C. O. camp was now seriously divided. The Aligarh students passed a resolution condemning abandonment of Civil Disobedience. There were other instances of the same nature. Government saw that Mr. Gandhi was losing his influence with his followers and that he was unable to stem the tide of violence. The Akali movement in the Punjab, the Aika movement amongst the peasants of the U. P., the Temperance movement of the Bhils—all had been fostered by the N. C. O. spirit. But all now developed lawlessness.

Lord Reading gets his chance.

Lord Reading made up his mind to arrest the Mahatma. The European public had been clamouring for it for a long time. He was taken on the 10th of March and, eight days later, sentenced for six years on a charge of sedition. On the eve of his arrest the Mahatma wrote :—

"It would be a sad commentary upon my preaching of and upon the Congress and Khilafat creed of non-violence, if my incarceration was to be the signal for a storm all over the country."

After Gandhi.

Whether it was due to natural inertia or to the great leader's admonition, the country took it quietly enough. The Mahatma himself got the rest he needed so badly. The state of the country after his removal proved clearly that it had never as a whole entered into the spirit of the Mahatma's non-violent non-co-operation, and the movement as initiated by the leader gradually crumbled down.

Mr. Montagu retired from office about the same time as Mr. Gandhi's arrest. The cabinet, unhampered by his presence, pursued a policy of unnecessary repression in India and, happily for the Congress, now indulged freely in their phil-Hellenic proclivities.

The affairs in the near East were being keenly watched in India. Ghazi Kamal Pasha's victories and British antipathy towards him made the bulk of Indian Moslems true to the Hindu-Moslem entente during 1922 and part of 1923. But what programme was this entente to follow ? The leader had left the mandate that they should restrict themselves to the constructive programme of Khaddar and Social Service. This programme was not attractive enough and public interest was flagging. The North Indian leaders wanted to start Civil Disobedience forthwith. Some of the Provincial Committees demanded sanction from the A. I. C. C. Maharastra under Mr. Kelkar wanted to capture the Council and the Local Bodies, and within a month of Gandhiji's imprisonment sent a strong representation to the A. I. C. C. to that effect. In the C. P. and Madras, too, Council entry was urged. Mr. C. R. Das as President of the Bengal Provincial Conference also hinted at it. Pandit Nehru came out of jail on the 6th of June. On the 7th the A. I. C. C. met at Lucknow. No Maharastra leader was present. A request had been received from them that the question of Council entry should be postponed. After much discussion

a resolution was adopted to the effect that though there was a widespread feeling in favour of Civil Disobedience, the Committee thought that the country should for the present carry out the constructive programme, and thus prepare for Mass Civil Disobediece, and at the same time further the objects of the Congress.

The Enquiry Committee—A New Programme.

A Committee was formed to enquire and report on the constructive programme of the Congress generally and on Civil Disobedience, and recommend any change in the programme considered necessary. The report was presented to the President Mr. Das on the 30th of October. It did not think that the country was prepared for general Mass Civil Disobedience, but said that a situation might arise when Mass Civil Disobedience of a limited character might be necessary and recommended that the Provincial Committees should be authorised to sanction such movements on their own responsibility. But the principal feature of the report was that it recommended the capture of the Councils with the idea of carrying on a policy of obstruction. It was this point that caused a definite split in the rank of the Congress. The two parties got the names of Pro-Changers and No-Changers. They joined issue first in the A. I. C. C. meeting at Calcutta in November. The recommendations of the Enquiry Committee regarding Civil Disobedience was accepted, but, on the point of Council entry there was a long and animated debate lasting for five days, at the end of which it was resolved that the question be left for the Congress itself to decide.

The Gaya Congress backs the old Programme.

The Thirty-seventh session of the Congress was held at Gaya with Mr. Das in the chair. The Presidential Address was one of the finest even of that born orator. Like the great statesman that he was, he asked his countrymen to extend the range of their vision beyond the Himalayas and realise that nationalism had in it no elements of narrowness.

He said:

"I further think that the policy of exclusiveness which we have been following during the last two years should now be abandoned. There is in every country a number of people who are selfless followers of liberty and who desire to see every country free. We can no longer afford to lose their sympathy and co-operation.

In my opinion, there should be established Congress Agencies in America and in every European country. We must keep ourselves in touch with world movements and be in constant communication with the lovers of freedom all over the world.

The Great Asiatic Federation.

Even more important than this is participation of India in the great Asiatic Federation which I see in the course of formation. I have hardly any doubt that the Pan-Islamic movement which was started on a somewhat narrow basis, has given way or is about to give way to the great Federation of all Asiatic people. It is the union of the opposed nationalists of Asia. Is India to remain outside this union? I admit that our freedom must be won by ourselves, but such a bond of friendship and love, of sympathy and co-operation, between India and the rest of Asia, nay, between India and all the liberty-loving people of the world is destined to bring about world-peace. World-peace to my mind means the freedom of every nationality, and I can go further and say that no nation on the face of the earth can be really free when other nations are in bondage.....To-day that very work demands broader sympathy and a wider outlook. We are on the eve of great changes, and the world-forces are upon us. The victory of Kemal Pasha has broken the bonds of Asia, and she is all astir with life..... The stir within every European country for the real freedom of the people has also worked a marvellous transformation in the mentality of subject races. That which was more or less a matter of ideal, has now come within the range of practical politics. The Indian nation has found out its bearings."

The following lines summing up the creed of non-violence are beautiful :—

> "Be it yours to wage a spiritual warfare so that
> "the victory when it comes does not debase you
> "nor tempt you to retain the power of Government
> "in your own hands. But if yours is to be a spi-
> "ritual warfare your weapons must be those of the
> "spiritual soldier. Anger is not for you, hatred
> "is not for you, nor for you is pettiness, meanness
> "or falsehood."

After placing on record its grateful appreciation of the Mahatma's services, the Congress passed various resolutions, the most important of them being those on Civil Disobedience and the Turkish situation. The first called upon all Congress workers to complete the preparations for offering Civil Disobedience by strengthen-

ing and expanding the national organisations. Twenty-five lacs were to be collected and fifty thousand volunteers enlisted by a certain date. The second authorised the Working Committee to take steps in consultation with the Khilafat executive in order to secure united action by the Hindus and the Mahomedans to prevent exploitation of India for the purpose of coercing Turkey. The resolutions regarding Council entry and boycott of British goods were thrown out by the Subjects Committee. Mr. Rajagopalachariar the leader of the No-Changers successfully persuaded the Congress that the Mahatma, if present, would have disapproved of both. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema had already decided on the basis of the Shariat against Council entry. This had finally decided the question for the Musalmans, as most of them voted on the side of the No-changers.

CHAPTER X.

CHITTARANJAN AND MOTILAL TAKE UP THE LEAD.

The Congress-Swaraj Party.

The year 1923 saw the recognition by the Congress of the party advocating Council entry. It was not likely that men like Das, Nehru and Kelkar would give up their programme after their defeat at Gaya. They issued a manifesto forthwith forming the Congress-Swaraj Party. Their plan was to continue in the Congress and ultimately to persuade that body to accept their policy. That policy was to capture as many seats as possible at the ensuing election and thereafter to try and produce a dead-lock in the Assembly and the Councils. The new party contained two distinct elements. One, led by Nehru and Das, who finding that the Charka programme had ceased to appeal to the country, wanted to carry the campaign of non-co-operation into the Councils which constituted the citadel of the bureaucracy. Another, led by Kelkar, had never really believed in the Mahatma's programme but merely acquiesced in it. Their own programme was Responsive Co-operation which had been thus pithily expressed by Lokamanya Tilak:—"If I am given 12 annas instead of the whole rupee due to me, I would take it and use it to get the remaining 4 annas." However, for the time being, both elements agreed to put in some strenuous work together.

Dissensions Communal and Political begin.

The No-Changers resisted the new party bitterly everywhere. Mr. Das gave up the Presidentship of the A. I. C. C. and

devoted himself to the organisation of his party. When the elections were actually on, the bulk of the No-Changers looked on indifferently but some of the more ardent partisans went to the length of working against the Swarajist candidates. The Charka which had for the last two years been a sacred emblem and a source, of inspiration was dragged down by these partisans to the level of a fetish. Das and his party appealed to the Goddess of Reason and She ultimately prevailed.

The general trend of events helped the progress of the Swaraj Party. There was a strong feeling in the country over various acts of Government and a demand appeared for a direct and vigorous political programme. In spite of serious Hindu-Musulman riots at many places, mainly in northern India, the *entente* for political work continued. Eminent Moslem leaders like M. Abul Kalam, the Ali brothers, Mr. Yakub Hassan and Dr. Kitchlew came out of prison during the year. As they came out, they joined Dr. Ansari and Hakim Ajmal Khan to keep up the unity between the two communities. But the rift in the lute was already there and was destined in a couple of years' time to put an end to all joint political work. The Suddhi and Sanghatan movements that had started contributed in no small degree to the misunderstanding between the two communities. As far as Bengal was concerned, towards the end of the year a pact was entered into by Hindus and Musalmans at the instance of that far-sighted statesman Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, and as long as he was alive the province was immune from internecine strife. In 1923 in spite of Hindu-Musalman fight in many places the real obstacle to vigorous national work was the misunderstanding between the two wings of Congress workers. There were many attempts to bring about a compromise notably by M. Azad who came out of prison early in January. At first they failed. But a few weeks later on the first of March the parties met at Allahabad. It was agreed to suspend the Council propaganda and to join in carrying out the Gaya programme of constructive work up to the 30th of April. Little work however was actually done in collecting men and money and in spreading the Khaddar cult. Messrs. Das, Nehru and the Punjab leaders were busy checking the growing feelings of bitterness between the two communities. Even when the Viceroy certified the Finance Bill and the Salt Tax after the adverse decision of the Assembly the two parties could not get together in time and raise a storm over the country as Mr. Gandhi would have done. The certification incident, if anything, had the effect of converting many waverers to Mr. Das's creed. The public seemed anxious to offer some effective opposition to Government in the Legislatures.

The Nagpur Satyagraha.

The more ardent among the No-Changers got their chance when at Nagpurthe authorities banned processions with the national flag. Satyagraha was immediately declared. Local leaders like Mr. Bajaj were arrested. Satyagrahi after Satyagrahi came forward and carried the flag. People from other provinces also joined and the number under arrest went up to as many as 1,500. Ultimately they tired out the C. P. Government. Further arrest ceased and those already imprisoned were released in the month of August.

The Swarajists and the No-Changers.

When the period fixed by the compromise at Allahabad ended (30th of April), the leaders of the two parties issued aggressive manifestoes in which there was no trace of any spirit of compromise. The A. I. C. C. met at Bombay in May and again passed a compromise resolution, "that no propaganda be carried amongst the voters in furtherance of the Gaya resolution relating to Council boycott." The No-Changers on the Working Committee thereupon resigned, their places being taken by non-party men. Mr. Das made a lightening tour in South India to popularise the Swaraj Party's principles. The leading No-Changers went back on the Bombay compromise and urged that the resolution was ultra-vires and feelings became very bitter. There were, after this, two meetings of the A. I. C. C. at Nagpur and Vizagapattam respectively and ultimately it was decided to have a special session of the Congress at Delhi. Soon after this decision Lala Lajpat Rai, M. Muhammad Ali and Dr. Kitchlew were released. These leaders were entirely against any course which would drive out of the Congress such veteran workers as Das, Nehru and the Hakim Saheb. Towards the end of July, the Lausanne Treaty was published, leading to a certain amount of elation in the minds of the Indian Moslems. And just at this time the Hindu Mahasabha held its meeting at Benares and passed resolutions condemning Moslem lawlessness and urging the necessity of Hindu Sanghatan. These circumstances brought about a recrudescence of communal riots. The atmosphere became peculiarly unsuitable for any Mass Civil Disobedience. The Swaraj Party's programme, the country felt, was the only one that had a chance of success.

The Special Congress permits Council Entry.

The special Congress met at Delhi with M. Azad in the Chair. Hindu-Musalman differences worried the leaders greatly and a

long informal conference was held and a committee appointed to go into the various points urged by the representatives of the Jamiat and the Hindu Sabha. The Presidential Address echoed the sentiments of the Deshbandhu at the last Congress and referred to the cause of Asiatic unity. He said, "India must make common cause with the universal struggle of Eastern Nations to shake off the fetters of slavery and should assure Japan, Syria, Palestine and Morocco of her sympathy with their struggle." He told the Congress that Mr. Gandhi's name had become a watchword in Cairo and Constantinople. Regarding the disunion which hampered the national work he said, "The sudden pause of Bardoli produced a shock and the general inactivity of the movement caused the split in the Congress. The rupture of Hindu-Musalman unity, the failure of all attempts to bring about union—all these are natural results of the Bardoli shock." He urged the Congress to decide on a course of action and push ahead. The resolution that removed the ban on Council entry was moved by M. Muhammad Ali who claimed to have received a telepathic message from the Mahatma. The Maulana himself was a No-Changer and in moving the resolution he said that as for the Swarajists he wished them all success and god-speed but believed that after the first flush of victory or disappointment of defeat they would come back and join them in order to push on the constructive programme. A Committee was appointed to organise an effective campaign of Civil Disobedience. Government action in deposing the patriotic Maharaja of Nabha was condemned and the Akalis were congratulated on their courageous stand against the campaign of repression carried on by the Punjab Government. The Kenys White Paper had been published before this and the Congress recorded a strongly worded protest against the unjust treatment of Indians in that colony.

Swarajist success at the Elections.

After the Delhi Session Messrs. Nehru and Das carried out an intensive Swaraj campaign in North India. In October a manifesto was issued, and elaborate preparation made for fighting the elections. For the time being, this excitement blotted out from the public mind all communal and party questions. Lord Reading at a public dinner conveyed a grave warning to the Swarajists regarding their threatened tactics of obstruction and to the Akali Sikhs in connection with Nabha. In October and November the Government set themselves in earnest to crush the Akali movement. Several Sikh leaders were arrested. The

annual session of the Sikh League at Jullandhar was first prohibited and then stopped by force. The Gurdwara Prabandhak Society was declared unlawful. For the time being the Swarajists were not molested. In November and December they contested the elections successfully all over India pushing to the wall the old moderate leaders everywhere. The C. P. Council had a Swarajist majority. In Bengal it was the largest individual party and Lord Lytton asked Mr. Das to form a Ministry. He refused.

The Coconada Congress.

The annual session of the Congress was at Coconada. M. Muhammad Ali was in the Chair. The Delhi Special Congress compromise resolution regarding Council entry was confirmed. But so was the original Gandhi programme of Triple Boycott which included Council boycott. The programme of constructive work was again put forward. The spirit of this Session was as far as possible to retain the status quo and prevent an actual split. The question of communal unity exercised the leaders a good deal. Mr. Das's Bengal Pact raised great opposition among the Hindu delegates. The National Pact drawn up by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai under orders from the A. I. C. C. was referred again to a Committee. An all India Khaddar Board was elected for the Khaddar propaganda. The President's long and brilliant address touched on every point before the Congress. It analysed clearly the position of the Mussalmans in India now and in the past and laid stress on the absolute necessity of achieving communal unity.

CHAPTER XI.

WORK IN THE LEGISLATURES.

The Mahatma's release.—The Situation.

When the year 1924 opened the Swarajist leaders were devoting themselves wholly to their work in the Councils and in the Assembly. The new Khadi Board went about in Tamil Nadu country propagating the Khaddar doctrine. M. Shaukat Ali with a Moslem deputation went on Khilafat work to Ceylon. The coming of the Labour Party into power in England and the unexpected release of Mahatma Gandhi in February were two important events. The Moderate leaders expected a great deal from the new Cabinet and even the Swarajists were hopeful that no direct action against India's interest would now be taken. But events soon showed that the attitude of British Labour in power towards India was

more or less the same as that of any other Party. The Ordinance of October beat any enacted by the most re-actionary Tory Government. The Mahatma on his release found that his Triple Boycott had disappeared almost completely, that the interest in Khaddar had become only nominal and that the leaders had lost touch with the masses. The touch once established between the Classes and the Masses was being used mainly in promoting inter-communal discord. By July, inter-communal feelings became so violent that no hope remained of any successful N. C. O. propaganda. Gandhiji by the end of the year restricted his activities entirely to Khaddar.

The outstanding feature of 1924 was the success of the Swarajists in the Councils. They had not indeed made the Government in the country impossible, but they had thrown the C. P. Council into a deadlock, dislocated the administration of Transferred Departments in Bengal and brought defeat upon defeat on Government in the Assembly. The Government was being made to look ridiculous in the eyes of the people, and naturally got into a temper.

Some minor incidents deserve mention. One Mr. Day was murdered in Calcutta by a Bengali anarchist. This murder, as was natural, caused great feeling among the European population who took this opportunity to urge Government to take extreme measures. The Bengal Provincial Conference at Serajgunj, instead of condemning the act in an unqualified manner as had always been done in the past, made a reservation about the patriotism of the murderer. Subsequently the same view was expressed in the A. I. C. C. in spite of Mr. Gandhi's opposition. Mr. Gandhi was so shocked that it was feared he would give up the Congress entirely.

The spirit of Satyagraha was still in the air. The Akalis were carrying on with un-exampled courage their passive campaign by sending Jatha after Jatha to Jaito. Even the dreadful fate that the first Jatha had met, had not made the slightest difference to their zeal. Satyagraha, so far used against the Ruling Power only, was resorted to this year at Tarakeswar in Bengal and Vaikom in the South in defence of people's rights with regard to temples. Both movements created great enthusiasm and ultimately met with success. With all this spirit in the country, no wonder the Mahatma hoped still to discipline it and to direct it in time towards a no-tax campaign on a large scale.

The Mahatma and the Swarajists.

He came to Juhu near Bombay in March. As soon as the doctors permitted it, a long string of national leaders of various

parties paid him visits. After prolonged consultation between the Mahatma and the Swarajist leaders, both sides issued statements in May. The faith of the Mahatma in the old N. C. O. programme was unshaken, but he accepted the compromise at Delhi and Coconada, and desired that the country should give a free hand to the Swarajists. The Swarajist leaders expressed a determination to follow their own programme in the Legislative bodies but they gave their whole-hearted support to the constructive programme of the Leader outside these bodies. But there was no peace. Mr. Gandhi in a manifesto shortly afterwards expressed a wish that the executive organisations of the Congress should be kept pure, that is, the Swarajists were to be out of them. A heated discussion followed in the press.

Towards the end of June the famous meeting of the A. I. C. C., already referred to, was held at Ahmedabad. The four resolutions that had been published by Mr. Gandhi a week before as representing his views, related respectively to obligatory spinning, the Congress Executive, election to Congress offices and to the murder of Mr. Day at Calcutta. But at the meeting they had to be altered. The penalty clause in the obligatory spinning resolution was dropped. Resolutions 2 and 3 were also toned down before being passed. The 4th resolution regarding the Day murder was passed. Mr. Das's amendment to this resolution was to the effect that the A. I. C. C., while dissociating itself from violence and adhering to the principle of non-violence, appreciated the murderer Gopinath's ideal of self-sacrifice misguided as it was and expressed respect for his self-sacrifice. This amendment was defeated by a very narrow majority. Mr. Gandhi writing soon after about this meeting said that he felt "defeated and humbled" and that the substantial support Mr. Das's amendment to the Gopinath resolution secured, was to him "a staggering revelation." A little later Mr. Gandhi published a universal programme for all parties but there was nothing new in it, it being practically the old constructive programme of the Congress.

As mentioned already, communal bitterness grew to alarming proportions in the latter half of the year. Mr. Gandhi tackled the situation in his characteristic fashion but failed. Soon after the Delhi and Nagpur riots in July there came in quick succession the awful outbreaks at Gulbarga, Kohat and Lucknow. The Mahatma took a vow and fasted 21 days by way of vicarious penance. Everybody felt that a sincere effort at bringing about peace was necessary. A Unity Conference was called together and met at Delhi on the 26th September. It laid down a programme of work and dispersed.

The Ordinance and the Pact.

In October and November the great event was the Ordinance promulgated in Bengal, followed by sensational house searches, raids and arrests. Several eminent Swarajist leaders and Congress Office bearers were arrested and interned. The Government was giving its reply to the Gopinath Saha resolution at Serajgunj and the amendment of Das at Ahmedabad. The Ordinance and the policy of repression that followed roused the country and elicited strong protest even from moderate leaders. Mr. Gandhi now came to an understanding with the Swarajist leaders at Calcutta. This Calcutta Pact suspended non-co-operation and invited all political parties to come to the Congress and denounce the new repressive policy of Government. The Swarajists were declared to be the Council section of the Congress. The three old items of work,—Removal of Untouchability, Communal Unity and the Charka propaganda, remained. In fact, the Charka was made the basis of the new Congress franchise. An All Parties Conference met at Bombay, condemned the Ordinance and appointed a committee to consider the best way of re-uniting all political parties in the Congress. The Calcutta Pact was approved of by the A. I. C. C. about the end of November.

The Congress ratifies the pact.

The Thirty-ninth Session of the Congress opened at Belgaum under the presidency of the Mahatma himself. The Unity Conferences at Delhi and Bombay had brought about a spirit of harmony. All political parties had been invited to join this session. The Calcutta Pact, which had united the contending parties in the Congress itself, awaited ratification. The new spinning franchise was to be a set off against the suspension of the Triple Boycott. The President in his address speaking of spinning, said "I have thus dilated upon the spinning wheel because I have no better or no other message for the nation." He laid stress on the necessity of removing the two great obstacles in the nation's path—Hindu-Moslem discord and untouchability. But he called all three "only means to an end." He sketched what in his opinion were the absolute requirements of Swaraj as he would have it. Regarding the Independence Resolution, which had been moved unsuccessfully since 1921 and which was before the Subjects Committee at Belgaum, he said, "I would urge every Congress-man not to be insistent on independence in each and every case, not because there is anything impossible about it, but because it is wholly unnecesary till it has become perfectly manifest that Britain really

meant subjugation in spite of her declaration to the contrary." The President touched on the Pact and indicated some lines along which all Congress-men could proceed. In condemning the Ordinance in Bengal, he said "I regard this repression as a chronic symptom of a chronic disease. European dominance and Asiatic subjection is the formula." The resolution on the Pact moved by Mr. Das and passed by the Congress is given below :—

"The Congress hereby endorses the following agreement between Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru acting on behalf of the Swaraj Party on the other.

"Whereas although Swaraj is the goal of the parties in India, the country is divided into different groups seemingly working in opposite direction, and whereas such antagonistic activity retards the progress of the nation towards Swaraj, and whereas it is desirable to bring so far as possible all such parties within the Congress and on a common platform, and whereas the Congress itself is divided into two opposing sections resulting in harm to the country's cause, and whereas it is desirable to reunite these parties for the purpose of furthering the common cause, and whereas a policy of repression has received sanction of the Governor-General, and whereas in the opinion of the undersigned this repression is aimed in reality not at any party of violence, but at the Swaraj Party in Bengal and therefore at constitutional and orderly activity, and whereas therefore it has become a matter of immediate necessity to invite and secure the co-operation of all parties for putting forth the united strength of the nation against the policy of repression, we the undersigned strongly recommend the following for adoption by all parties and eventually by the Congress at Belgaum.

"The Congress should suspend the programme of non-co-operation as the national programme except in so far as it relates to use or wear cloth made out of India.

"The Congress should further resolve that different classes of work of the Congress may be done as may be found necessary by different sections within the Congress and should resolve that the spread of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and all the ante-

cedent processes and the spread of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, and the promotion of unity between different communities specially between the Hindus and the Mahomedans and the removal of untouchability by the Hindus from amongst them, should be carried on by all sections within the Congress and the work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation, and for such work the Swaraj Party should make its own rules and administer its own funds.

"Inasmuch as experience has shown that without universal spinning India cannot become self-supporting regarding the clothing requirements and inasmuch as hand-spinning is the best and the most tangible method of establishing a visible and substantial bond between the masses and Congressmen and women and in order to popularise hand-spinning and its products the Congress should repeal Article seven of the Congress Constitution and should substitute the following therefor :—

"No one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who is not of the age of 18 and who does not wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business and does not make a contribution of 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per month of his or her own spinning or in case of illness or unwillingness or any such cause a like quantity of yarn spun by any other person."

The Congress hopes that the agreement will result in true unity between the two wings of the Congress and will also enable persons belonging to other political organisations to join the Congress."

Other resolutions were passed which need not be specified. It is worthy of note that Mrs. Besant an ex-President joined the Congress at this Session after having kept aloof for a number of years.

Two fearless Knights pass away—1925.

Bengal lost two of her foremost sons during this year; first Deshbandhu Das, the fearless and selfless leader of modern Bengal,

and a few days later, the pioneer, nay, the founder of the national movement in India, the Guru of two generations of political workers, the veteran Sir Surendranath Banerjee. The difference between the two, to the impartial eye, was merely one of age. There was a curious family resemblance between the intrepid "Surrender-Not" of the eighties and nineties of the last century and Chitta Ranjan, *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, of the eventful years 1918-1925.

The Deshbandhu passed away at the zenith of his power when all India had their eyes fixed on him to see what 'gesture' he would make to an expectant bureaucracy. Friends and opponents have been eagerly scanning the Faridpore speech, the last public utterance of this great man, to find therein a clue to his next move.

In a short while after he left this world the Responsivists of the Deccan led by Mr. Kelkar lifted up their heads and announced their intention of taking office. The very next year the Madras Swarajists formed a ministry. Two years later another section of the party persuaded the Congress to accept complete independence as its goal and to change the creed accordingly.

Work of unification.

The opening months of 1925 saw the work of unity, taken up the year before, being continued. Towards the end of January an All Parties Conference met at Delhi with the Mahatma in the chair. A representative committee under the lead of Mrs. Besant was formed for drafting a scheme of Swaraj. A scheme was accordingly drawn up. During the two previous years, Mrs. Besant, Sir T. B. Sapru and others had started the National Convention and drafted a scheme called The Common-wealth of India Bill. This was taken into consideration by the Besant Committee. A Reforms Enquiry Committee had been appointed by the Government of India in consequence of constant pressure from the Swaraj and Independent Parties in the Assembly. This had necessitated combined action on behalf of the whole nation and this combined action had become easier now on account of the co-operation of the Swaraj and Independent Parties in the Assembly ever since the Reforms had been initiated. In the Councils of the C. P. and Bengal, Swarajist successes continued and Dyarchy was found unworkable. This also had its effect in making the objects of the All Parties Conference popular.

M. G. E. S.
ARTS

The Faridpore Speech.

In May the Bengal Provincial Conference met at Faridpore with Mr. Das in the chair. The Mahatma was then in Bengal and attended the conference. The presidential address here was as has been mentioned already the last public utterance of Mr. Das. He spoke of Swaraj as the nation's ideal and explained its meaning by saying that it was to be "within the Empire if the Empire will recognise our right, and outside the Empire if it does not." But he made his predilection clear. "I think it is for the good of India, for the good of the world, that India should strive for freedom in the Commonwealth and so serve the cause of humanity." By the word Commonwealth he meant "the great Common-wealth of Nations called the British Empire." He re-affirmed his belief in non-violence but added, "Violence begets violence."

The Mahatma's next move.

Six weeks later Deshbandhu Das left the world. The whole country mourned his loss and for a time the voice of discord was hushed. Even the Viceroy sent a message of condolence to Mrs. Das. Mr. Gandhi wrote on the 19th of June :—"Even the Punjab Hindus and Mussalmans appear to have forgotten their quarrel in the face of this bolt from the blue. Can both parties feel strong and sensible enough to close the ranks ? Deshbandhu was a believer in and a lover of Hindu-Mussalman unity. He held the Hindus and Mussalmans together under circumstances the most trying. Can the funeral fire purge us of our disunion ?"

On the 19th of July the Mahatma wrote to Pandit Nehru a letter wherein he gave in clear terms his position with regard to the Swaraj Party after Mr. Das's death. He absolved the Swaraj Party from all obligations under the Pact of the year before and proposed to place the whole machinery of the Congress at the disposal of that party to enable it to bring before the Congress such political resolutions as was considered necessary in the interest of the country. The A. I. C. C. two months later amended the franchise by laying down that payment of four annas a year or supplying of 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn would constitute the necessary qualification. Mr. Gandhi's views regarding Council work as already expressed in the letter to Pandit Nehru was embodied in a resolution. A separate All India Spinners' Association was instituted for the Charka propaganda.

Nothing much was done actively to bring about communal unity and feelings between Hindus and Mussalmans generally continued strained throughout the year though there were no out-

breaks like those of 1924. The defection of the Responsivists already mentioned began in the last quarter of the year. Before the Congress Session however a truce was patched up under the influence of Lala Lajpat Rai.

The Cawnpore Congress approves of it.

The Congress held its Fortieth Session at Cawnpore. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the chair. She was the first Indian woman to preside over the deliberations of the Congress. Addressing the huge audience for over an hour with all her native eloquence she touched on the various questions of interest in the country, urged the Congress to formulate a practical scheme of village reconstruction on the lines of Deshbandhu Das's dream and appealed in passionate language for the unity of the Hindus and Moslems. She invited all political parties to join the Congress and "devise a common programme of action in persuance of a common goal." She referred to the national demand which had been pressed upon Government by the representatives of all political schools in the Assembly and said that it was the bare minimum that India could accept without loss of dignity and self-respect.

The decisions of the A. I. C. C. on franchise and the political programme were ratified. Faith in Civil Disobedience was affirmed but in view of the country not being prepared for it, the Congress laid down the basic principle on which all political work was to be carried on, viz., self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and resistance to every activity, governmental or other, that may impede the nation's progress towards Swaraj. Resolutions were passed condemning the Bengal Ordinance and on other current matters of interest. Mr. Gandhi himself moved the resolution against the anti-Asiatic legislation then pending in South Africa.

CHAPTER XII.

ALL PARTIES COMBINE.

The commencement of 1926 saw a partial settlement of the Akali trouble in the Punjab. Twenty-nine Akali leaders including Sardar Mehtab Singh were acquitted on giving an undertaking to work the new Gurdwara Act, but the fearless Kharak Singh and many others still remained in prison and Sikh feeling was sore on the subject.

Responsivists Secede.

Mr. Jayakar, the Responsivist leader, unfurled the flag of rebellion against the Congress. Soon after the Congress Session the leaders of that party issued a statement that they were unable to accept the political programme laid down and that they proposed to resign their seats in the Legislature and carry on the propaganda in the country against that programme. They held a conference at Akola in February and formed their party.

In September 1925 the national demand had been put forward again in the Assembly. In the opinion of many it was a modest enough demand but Government made it clear that they were not going to accept it. A special committee appointed by the Congress at Cawnpore, interpreted the Viceroy's inaugural address and certain statements of the Home Member in the Assembly and the Council of State to imply refusal to concede the national demand. The A. I. C. C. therefore in March called upon the Swarajist members to withdraw from the various legislatures. Accordingly on the 8th March the Swarajist members walked out from the Assembly, the Council of State and some Legislative Councils. This action was followed in the U. P. and Bengal Councils in the course of the month. The Responsivists had strong objection to this move and expressed their opinion in no measured terms. Attempts were made and a pact was patched up in Mr. Gandhi's presence at Sabarmati in April, but it broke down in May when the A. I. C. C. met to confirm it. The next course the Responsivists took was to leave the Swaraj Party altogether and enter into an understanding with the Indian National Party which had been formed earlier in April by Dr. Besant, Pandit Malaviya and a number of eminent members of the Moderate Party.

Hindu-Moslem riots.

While the leading nationalists of the different parties were squabbling over trifles, the very foundations of nationalism were being shaken by serious and organised communal riots principally in Bengal. There was an appalling loss of life. Feelings ran high and the newspapers of both communities gave free vent to them. The Ali brothers, Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Moonje and even Hakim Ajmal Khan, in their communal zeal, forgot that they had ever worked together for the common weal. The Mahatma expressed the opinion that no amicable settlement was possible till the two communities were tired of fighting. In the meantime the Bengal Pact, and incidentally its author the Deshbandhu, came in for a lot of abuse and as a result the Bengal Congress Committee had a serious split in its ranks. Besides, the Moslems in Bengal

almost whole-sale broke away from the Swaraj Party and formed parties of their own. The agitation for the liberation of the Bengal detenus continued but what chance was there in the midst of these dissensions for an agitation to be effective? Hindu Sabhas and Mahasabhas gained in importance. The right of playing music before mosques acquired precedence over even the most elementary rights of a subject in a civilised state. A few names stand prominently out of the filth of communalism that was sullying this unfortunate country and they should be written in letters of gold in the nation's memory; Azad and Ansari, Nehru and Sen Gupta, men who never for a moment forgot and were never afraid to declare that the interest of India stood first and everything else afterwards. Nor must the country forget the absolutely disinterested, honest and humanitarian efforts of the Gentleman who occupied the vice-regal throne in these troubled times. Communal riots continued throughout the year and culminated in the murder of Swami Shraddhananda by a Moslem fanatic. It is said, "Out of evil cometh good". But when will any good come out of this evil?

Independent Congress Party.

Shuffling and re-shuffling of political parties was going on. The Swaraj Party in the C. P. was also split in two. By the time the Congress met at Gauhati the Independent Congress Party was formed. It included Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. B. Chakravarty, the party of Mr. Raghavendra Rao of the C. P., Mr. Jayakar and other Responsivist leaders. The main point of difference between this new party and the Swaraj Party under Pandit Nehru was the acceptance of office. At the Council elections, the Swaraj Party lost ground generally. In Madras, however, they secured signal success and formed the ministry. The point of note about the election this year was the co-operation given by the No-Changers. In Bengal the two interned Swarajist leaders, Srijuts Subhas Chandra Bose and Satyendra Chandra Mitra were successful at the polls, and the Swaraj Party captured a large majority of Hindu seats; but as already stated Moslems generally seceded from that party and there remained very little chance of successful obstruction in the Council.

Gauhati—Mr. Iyengar's Appeal for Unity.

The Forty-first Congress met at Gauhati in Assam with Mr. S. S. Iyengar in the chair. After referring to the Swarajist Walk Out in the Assembly and the Councils he said:—"We must concentrate our attention next on enforcing compliance with the national demand. We shall for the present keep the door open for a

just and honourable settlement but we must not deceive ourselves into the belief that the Governments in England and in India are now willing to concede our demand or even to open negotiatiou with us for the purpose. The only answer we have so far from Government in every variety of accents and phrases is that we should lay aside for the time being our demand for Swaraj and should soberly and whole-heartedly work the present constitution." He then proceeded to show that Dyarchy was not workable and laid stress on the Central Government not being in any way responsible to the legislature. He boldly proclaimed India's right to the position of an equal and autonomous unit in the British Empire and said that there was no reason for us to proclaim our incapacity to maintain an army and a navy of our own. He referred to the Council programme of the Congress and analysed ably the vexed question of the acceptance of office, He urged "We must make the Congress the centre of all our activities and build up Swaraj in and through it" and discussed the constructive programme and the capture of Local Bodies. The question of India's status in the Empire, disabilities of Indians in the British colonies, the ideal of an Asiatic Federation—all these points received his attention. He made an earnest appeal for communal unity showing how utterly ridiculous it was for Hindus and Mussalmans to quarrel with each other.

The Congress showed honour to the memory of Swami Shraddhanand, welcomed the Round Table Conference sitting in South Africa and condemned the anti-Indian Legislatures in Kenya. The principal resolution regarding the Council programme of the Congress was moved by Mr. Sen Gupta. He described how the Swarajists were being assailed by two sets of critics, one who demanded a stronger programme and the other who urged the acceptance of office. He re-counted all that the Swaraj Party had achieved and asked the Congress to accept the programme before it. There were many amendments proposed but the Congress rejected them and accepted the resolution. The resolution regarding the programme of work in the country and outside was moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru and passed. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was elected a delegate to the Congress of oppressed nationalities at Brussels. A message of sympathy from Giberta signed by Lansbury, Madam Sun-yat-sen and Henri Barbuson was read. Resolutions were passed condemning the Bengal Ordinance and on various other subjects. The Khaddar resolution was to the effect that Congress-men should habitually wear Khaddar. This was introduced into the constitution. There was an unpleasant incident in connection with the Punjab resolution about the release of Akali

prisoners still in prison. Some Sikh delegates headed by Gurdit Singh of the Komagata Maru fame, expressed strong resentment at the Congress deserting the cause of Maharaja of Nabha. The President calmed them by explaining that the question of the Maharaja's deposition had not been given up, but merely referred to the Working Committee. In his concluding speech Mr. Iyengar said :—"This year there would be a more serious attempt to give effect to the Cawnpore constructive programme re-iterated in Gauhati.....This session of the Congress has witnessed such fusion of parties—the Independent Congress Party led by Pandit Malaviya was visibly fusing itself with the Swarajists."

Work of communal unity—1927.

During this year too, there were many serious communal riots in different parts of the country, the worst being at Nagpore in the C. P., at Ponabalia in Bengal, at Multan in the Punjab, at Larkana in Sind and at Dinapore and Bettiah in Behar. There was also considerable indignation in the Moslem community over two scurrilous Hindu publications—"Risala Vartaman" and "Rangila Rasul." The acquittal of the accused in the "Rangila Rasul" case though by a Christian judge greatly inflamed communal feeling specially in the Punjab. The subsequent conviction of the two accused and sentences of rigorous imprisonment passed in the "Risala Vartaman" case somewhat re-assured Moslem feeling. In September a Unity Conference met at Simla and held a number of sittings but failed to arrive at a *concordat* on the two vexed questions of cow-slaughter and music before mosque. A month later another Unity Conference at Calcutta was more successful and the representatives of both communities joined in passing some resolutions on these two points and on the question of conversions. The partial success of this second conference was largely due to the *pour parlers* between the leaders of the two communities then going on for joint political action.

Political Parties combine to boycott commission.

On the 8th November the Viceroy made his announcement on the Reforms Commission. There was to be no Indian on the Commission and the Committees of the Indian legislatures were to be merely consulting bodies. This went a long way to establish a better understanding between the two communities. The eminent leaders of both came forward and joined hands in a movement to boycott the Commission. Several eminent moderate leaders also came out and joined the Con-

gress leaders in this agitation. The Labour Party in England pressed for an undertaking in Parliament that there would be the fullest co-operation and consultation between the Statutary Commission and the Committee of the Indian Legislatures. Pandit Nehru on behalf of the Congress wrote to Mr. Lansbury of the Labour Party and asked that Party to withdraw their members from the Commission saying that nothing short of full Responsible Government would satisfy the Congress. But Mr. MacDonald, the Labour leader, decided not to withdraw the Labour members if equal powers were given to the Indian Committee.

In the meantime All Party meetings and conferences were being held at Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow and Allahabad urging boycott of the Commission. Moderates like Setalvad, Sapru, Chintamani and Petit and even such a militant Moslem leader as Sir Abdur Rahim presided over these meetings. Some moderate leaders from self-interest or it may be conviction stuck to their creed of co-operation though the Liberal Federation unanimously resolved on boycotting the Commission. The Moslem League came to a serious split over this question. One portion under Mr. Jinnah held the League Session at Calcutta and fell in a line with the Congress and the Liberal Federation. Another portion under Mr. Shafi resolved on co-operating with the Commission. They held their League Session at Lahore. This division was largely provincial. The majority of the Moslem leaders of the Punjab and Bengal were with Mr. Shafi while the other provinces were with Mr. Jinnah. The main difference between the two parties was on the point of communal electorates. It is noteworthy that Bengal and the Punjab are the two provinces where the Mussalmans are in a majority. The attitude of the Moslem reactionaries brought into the arena a party of Hindu die-hards who also made up their minds to present the Hindu case before the Commission. These were, however, the minority. A vast majority of the leaders of various schools of political thought were brought on a common platform by this boycott movement. The common work is still engaging them. How long this union will last no one can say. But one very useful piece of work has already been done in 1928. A constitution for India, complete in all details, has been drawn up.

The work of the Leaders.

But this success has not been attained without a great deal of spade work. Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, the President of the Congress, had been working to this end from the beginning of the year. He had several informal discussions with the leading Hindu and Moslem members of the Indian Legislatures at Delhi. On the

20th of March some Moslem leaders met together and put forward certain specific proposals on the communal problem. Joint electorates were accepted by them on certain conditions. The Congress Working Committee cordially appreciated this decision of the Mahomedan leaders and appointed a Sub-committee to discuss details. This was done and the Working Committee made certain recommendations to the A. I. C. C. This latter body on the 16th May accepted the conditions laid down by the Moslem leaders which related mainly to the separation of Sind, to the introduction of reforms into the N. W. F. Province and to the reservation of seats in the legislatures for the minority communities. The A. I. C. C. called on the Working Committee to frame a constitution in consultation with the leaders of other political sections. All these efforts of the leaders very naturally created a healthier atmosphere and the settling of points of religious difference became easier. The appointment of the Simon Commission gave an impetus to the work taken in hand by the leaders.

In the course of the year the squabbles in the Bengal Provincial Committee were settled and sometime before the Congress the two prominent Bengal detenues were released. There was a lot of criticism in the Congress Executive Bodies about the action of the Madras Swarajists who had taken office. But towards the end of the year, the internal affairs of the Congress attracted much less interest than the steps being taken to bring about an understanding with other political organisations.

The Congress accepts Independence as the goal.

The Forty-second Session of the Congress met at Madras with Dr. Ansari in the chair. The President had already expressed himself publicly to be a non-co-operator of the orthodox school, who did not believe in Council work by Congress-men. In his Presidential address he said:—"We gave an unbroken period of 35 years to co-operation, about a year and a half to non-co-operation and 4 years to the policy of obstruction within the Councils and constitutional dead-locks. Co-operation has led us nowhere, obstruction within the Councils has not given us any better results, ... Non-co-operation did not fail us, we failed non-co-operation..... I also admit that in the present atmosphere of mutual suspicion and hatred there is no prospect of an immediate resumption of non-co-operation. The spirit of non-co-operation however has come to stay as a potent force in Indian politics." He insisted on the need of unity in the country, unity in the Congress and unity in the Councils. On the last point his view was

that there should be in the legislatures one united Peoples' Opposition Party. He went into the communal question at length and described what had been done so far by the Congress to bring about unity. Regarding the Simon Commission he asked India to treat it as our "Egyptian brothers" had treated the Milner Commission.

Of the resolutions passed the most important was that on Independence moved by Pandit Jawharlal Nehru. It ran :—"This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence." It was unanimously carried. The Congress recorded "its full sympathy with the Chinese in their fight for emancipation." During the year Government had refused passports to a Medical Mission that the Congress was about to send to China. This action of the Government was condemned. Boycott of the Statutory Commission and mass demonstrations were decided upon. The resolution on the Hindu-Moslem problem was in two parts. One part relating to political rights ratified the resolution of the A. I. C. C. already specified. The other part on the religious rights was practically a request made to either community to spare the feelings of their brethren of the other community. The resolution of the A. I. C. C. about the drafting of a Swaraj Constitution by all parties was ratified.

On the eve of the 43rd Session.

The years 1927 and 1928 saw two strikes on the railways on a very large scale. Both showed remarkable organising power and both held out quite a long time. The public showed every sympathy with the strikers and on the whole the latter may be said to have been non-violent in their methods. During these two years India has had cause to mourn for three of her eminent leaders, all ex-Presidents of the Congress and all of them men whom this unfortunate land could ill afford to lose specially at the present moment. They were Hakim Ajmal Khan, Lord Sinha and Lala Lajpat Rai.

The Congress at Calcutta this year will be called upon to consider the Nehru report and the Constitution drawn up by the All Parties Committee. The Madras Congress decided that Independence was the goal of the Indian nation. The Nehru report sets down dominion status as the goal. If there is any anomaly in this position the Calcutta Congress will have to give the country the lead. Calcutta gave a lead in 1920 when the Mahatma launched his N. C. O. movement here. Lala Lajpat Rai then said as President of the Special Congress, that Calcutta was a

place "which has always been associated in my mind with the best and the highest ideals of Indian nationalism. It was at Calcutta that the first important political movement of the last century was ushered into existence, and it was a Calcutta orator the greatest that the country has so far produced under British rule, who was the first standard-bearer of political agitation all over northern India. It was at Calcutta that the ideals of the new nationalism that has since then grown into a mighty tree were first expanded and explained by one of the purest minded and the most intellectual of Bengal's gifted sons, I mean Sri Aurobindo Ghosh. It was at Calcutta again that the Grand Old Man of India the revered and universally respected Dadabhai Naoroji set the ideal of Swaraj before us in clear and unambiguous language, the ideal which has since guided us in all our political endeavours."

CONGRESS MAP OF INDIA.

SHEWING PLACES, ORDER & YEAR
OF THE VARIOUS SESSIONS.

Issued by the 43rd
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
CALCUTTA.
1928.



N. W. FRONTIER PROV.
KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
R. Indus
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
PUNJAB
R. Ravi
R. Beas
LAHORE (8)...1893 (16)...1900 (24)...1909
AMRITSAR (34)...1919
SIMLA
R. Sutlej
DELHI (33)...1918 (37 Sp)...1923
UNITED PROVINCES
R. Gumti
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
RAJPUTANA
AJMER
LUCKNOW (15)...1899 (31)...1916
BENARES (21)...1905
CAWNPUR (Ad)...1925
ALLAHABAD (4)...1888 (8)...1892 (10)...1910
BIHAR
PATNA (BANKIPUR) (27)...1912
GAYA (37)...1922
SIND
KARACHI (28)...1913
CENTRAL INDIA AGENCY
GUJARAT
AHMEDABAD (18)...1902 (36)...1921
R. Narbada
R. Tapti
SURAT (23 Sp)...1907
CENTRAL PROVINCES
AMRAOTI (13)...1897
NAGPUR (7)...1891 (35)...1920
ORISSA
R. Mahanadi
CUTTACK (22)...1906. (26)...1911. (32)...1917. (35 Sp)...1920. (43)...1928.
BOMBAY (1)...1885. (5)...1889. (20)...1904. (30)...1915. (32 Sp)...1918.
POONA (11)...1895
R. Godavari
HYDERABAD
R. Kistna
BELGAUM (39)...1924
GOA
COCANADA (38 Sp)...1923
R. Penner
MYSORE
COORG
MADRAS (3)...1887. (10)...1894. (14)...1898. (19)...1908. (23)...1908. (29)...1914. (42)...1927.
R. Cavery
TRAVANCORE
C. Comorine
CEYLON
COLOMBO
NEPAL
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
Darjeeling
R. Brahmaputra
DIBRUGARH
SHILLONG
R. Padma
DACCA
CALCUTTA
Chittagong
Mandalay
R. Irrawadi
RANGOON
(2)...1886. (6)...1890. (12)...1896. (17)...1901.
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN

Compiled by
S. K. GUPTA

ERIAL ART COTTAGE.
1, MANOIR ST CALCUTTA.